

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REBELLION

In 1745 and 1746,

Extracted from the Scots Magazine:

WITH AN  
APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

An Account of the Trials of the Rebels; the Pretender and his Son's Declarations, &c.

*Written or Compiled by F. Douglass.*

ABERDEEN:

Printed by and for F. DOUGLASS and W. MURRAY:  
Sold by C. HITCH and L. HAWES, London, by  
the Booksellers of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee,  
Perth and Montrose, and by the said F. DOUGLASS  
and W. MURRAY at Aberdeen. M, DCC, LV.



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AS there are very few who are not some how or other concerned in such intestine commotions as happen in their own time and country, histories of them have been always looked upon as very interesting; and when they are wrote with candor and impartiality they must be of great use to present and future times: as beacons and buoys in the ocean point out to mariners the rocks and sands on which others have been shipwrecked, these, by exposing the errors or mistakes of our fellow subjects with their fatal consequences, warn us against such courses as involved them in ruin, and teach us a due value for civil government.

THE great objection to histories of this kind, is, that they are generally either satire or panegyric. It must be owned that it is very difficult, and indeed scarce possible to do strict justice to both or to either side: a writer must take his account of facts from the parties concerned, who are commonly too warm to do one another justice, or perhaps from others who by their principles or connections have a strong bias to one side; and thus, were he heartily disposed to be impartial he lies under insuperable difficulties. But the inconsiderable mistakes of such a writer are easily distinguished from the party zeal so obvious in others.

We should be sorry to be understood to mean, that any man ought to be a *non liquet* in the cause of liberty and his country; no, a man may be very zealous in both, and at the same time have candor enough to do justice to those who have either wickedly or ignorantly been disturbers of the publick peace: there is a zeal without knowledge or charity, and there is a zeal very consistent with both.

THE following history is extracted from the Scots Magazines published during the time, and in the months next following the conclusion of the rebellion; the candor and impartiality with which the publishers of that Magazine conducted themselves in that critical period, added greatly to the character of a work formerly esteemed and well received by the public; and no other collection contains such full and circumstantial accounts of the King's and Rebel armies, or of the disturbances occasioned in the country by the rebellion.

THE following Quotation from the Magazine for September 1745, page 444, shews how careful the collectors were in publishing any facts relating to the rebellion; after observing that the Scots affairs in the Magazine for that month were more interesting and of greater consequence than any that had happened since their Magazine began, they add " We have given as circumstantiated and just an account of them as we have been able to procure; but as, in such cases, it is extremely difficult not to give offence, we must intreat our candid readers to put as favourable a construction on our conduct, as they would desire to have put on their own in like circumstances. In a country so unhappily divided as we are, and at a time when mens passions are so inflamed as they always are in civil wars, it is not easy for a writer or collector to come at truth, or to find readers that wish to hear all the truth. This being our present situation, if any material fact or circumstance is misrepresented or omitted, we shall be singularly obliged to any person that will help us to rectify mistakes or supply defects. To conclude, from a review of the misery and distress into which a great part of the country was involved, and the hardships entailed upon several families by the late rebellion, the fatal effects of civil broils will be very evident: peace and unanimity are among the greatest blessings men can enjoy; they make a nation happy in itself and formidable to its neighbours.

HISTORY



# H I S T O R Y

## O F T H E

### R E B E L L I O N.

**I**N the year 1744, there were great apprehensions of a French invasion in favours of the Pretender; but all these reports blew over, or were disappointed by the vigilance and activity of the government; nor did we hear more of such designs till the month of July 1745, when several reports of the same nature prevailed: the first Circumstantial account of the young Chevalier's motions, was the following article from Paris.

"*Paris, July 19.* The Pretender's eldest son put to sea, July 14. from Belleisle, in the Elizabeth of 60 guns, provided with a large quantity of warlike stores, together with a frigate of 30 guns, in order to land in Scotland; where it's said he is to find 20,000 men and 40 transport-ships, &c. at his disposal, to make good his pretensions to the crown of Great Britain. He is to be joined by five ships of the line from Brest, and 4500 Spaniards which are imbarking at Ferrol."

We had also the following account, from the *Hague, July 30.* "Several foreign ministers have an account, that a principal officer of the French navy had been several months raising, on pretence for the India service, 100 men. They were called *Graffins de Mer*, were clothed in blue and faced with red, and imbarked at port Lazara in Britany, on July 14. on board a frigate of 18 guns, in which was the Pretender's eldest son, who came incog. from Normandy, and about 50 Scots and Irish. The frigate was joined off Belleisle by the Elizabeth of 66 guns. They intended to go round Ire-

land, and land in Scotland; but were met on the 20th by some English merchant ships, convoyed by three ships of war; one of which, the *Lion*, bore down on the *Elizabeth*, and attacked her. Upon which the Pretender sailed away in the Frigate. The fight lasted nine hours; when, night coming on, the *Elizabeth*, quite disabled, got away to Brest; the Captain and 64 men killed, 136 dangerously wounded, and a greater number slightly. She had on board 400,000*l.* Sterling, and arms for several thousand men. The French court pretend to know nothing more of the affair, than that this person had sent a letter to complain of being neglected by them; but adding, that he would hazard his life in trying his father's faithful subjects, rather than return to Rome as he left it."

In the London Gazette of the 17 of August was the following article: "Letters from Edinburgh, of the 11th instant, bring an account, that a French vessel of 16 or 18 guns had appeared on the West coast of Scotland; which, after having cruised for some days off the island of Bara and Uist, stood in for the coast of Lochaber; and had there landed, betwixt the islands of Mull and Sky, several persons; one of whom, from the general report, and from several concurring circumstances, there is the greatest reason to believe is the Pretender's son."

The King was then abroad visiting his German dominions, and had appointed a regency to administrate affairs in his absence, how soon the Lords Justices were satisfied of the truth of these reports they took all necessary precautions for the defence and security of the kingdom, and among others, published a proclamation offering a reward of 30,000*l.* to any person who should seize and secure the young Chevalier.

Subsequent advices made it clear that this adventurer was actually landed in company with two or three gentlemen at a place called Moidart, and that several highlanders had taken up arms in his cause. On the first notice of this, Lieutenant General Sir John Cope, commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, gave the necessary

cessary orders to the troops; several parties, who were at work upon the roads were ordered forthwith to join their respective regiments; arms and ammunition were sent to the troops and garrisons from the castle of Edinburgh; that fortress was ordered to be stored with provisions, and the garrison reinforced with two companies of Lascelles's foot; a camp was formed at Stirling; all military persons whatever in Scotland were required forthwith to repair to their respective posts; and the out-pensioners of Chelsea hospital, to present themselves before Lieutenant-General Guest at Edinburgh; who, as they appeared, were ordered for Stirling, or joined to the garrison of Edinburgh-castle.

Two new levied companies of Sinclair's Royal Scots foot, quartered at Perth, received orders on the 10th of August to march to Fort William. Having passed Fort Augustus, they were attacked, on the 16th, by a party of highlanders, and made prisoners, after a stout resistance; in which two men were killed, and Capt. Scot and several wounded. They were carried to the young Chevalier's quarters; and, 'tis said, were civilly used. In a few days, the officer and some of the men, in all about fourteen, were liberated upon their parole. Captain Scot went to Fort William, to be cured; and Captain Thomson, Lieutenants Rose and Fergusson, and the men, came South.—Mean time Captain Campbell of Inveraw, with his company, one of the three additional companies of the old highland regiment, got safe into Fort-william, having gone the West road.

On the 19th, General Cope, accompanied by the Earl of Loudon, and a great many officers, set out from Edinburgh for Stirling, to put himself at the head of the army. Next day and the day following all the infantry, amounting to between 1500 and 2000, with provisions, some field-pieces, coehorns, &c. crossed the Forth by Stirling bridge, and marched by the way of Tay-bridge to Inverness; where they arrived on the 29th. The Duke of Athole, accompanied by the Laird of Glengary, visited the General, &c. when encamped at Crieff.



It was expected that General Cope would have attacked the rebels. But having, as 'tis said, received accounts when at Dalwhinnie, the place where the Fort-Augustus and Inverness roads meet, that they were much superior in number, and that they lay at an advantageous pass, in expectation of his coming the Fort-Augustus road; his Excellency sent a detachment that way, as a blind; but marched the main body, with the baggage, &c. the Inverness road; ordering the detachment to follow at an appointed time. This was effected with such prudence and expedition, as to prevent the rebels intercepting him at another pass on the Inverness road.

For a more particular account of General Cope's march to Inverness, and from that to Aberdeen, we shall here subjoin an extract from a letter of an officer in that expedition.

" Soon after the certain accounts reached us at Edinburgh, that the Pretender's son was landed at Moydart, and gathering people about him, there we were told, that, in obedience to orders from above, we were to hold ourselves in readiness for a march to the Chain, a name we give to the road leading from Inverness to Fort-William.

" As the country we were to march through, could not afford subsistence for the troops, it was absolutely necessary to carry a stock of bread along with us. This the General caused to be provided at Leith, Stirling, and Perth. As soon as it was got ready, we set out from Stirling, where the troops assembled.

" It was well for us that we had a sutler well provided, and a butcher with a drove of black cattle, (which he killed for us from time to time), along with us; without this precaution, we had starved upon the march.

" A march of regular troops, when the country was in its present situation, by themselves, was thought hazardous: but we were told, that we were to be joined at Crieff with a body of the well affected highlanders; and we carried 1000 arms that length along with us, to put into their hands. But so it happened, that not a man of them

them joined us, neither there nor any where else, till we came to Inverness.

" It seemed to me that the General, when we came to Crieff, found reason to believe he was not to expect to be joined by any of them ; for he sent back from thence, to Stirling castle, 700 of the arms. It was well he did so ; for it would have been impossible to get them to Inverness for want of carriages.

" However we went forward chearfully by ourselves, notwithstanding the disappointment ; and I observe it to you once for all, that, notwithstanding the many difficulties we met with in it, and the many forced marches we made, in order to pass the rivers for fear of their swelling ; yet such was the heartiness of the troops for the service, that no body was heard to complain upon the whole march.

" At Dalwhinnie we were informed that the rebels were posted on and in Coiryergh, a noted pass, seventeen miles distant on our way to the Chain. The General thereupon called the commanding officers of the several corps, and laid before them the orders he had to march directly to the Chain, and his intelligence about the disposition of the rebels ; desiring to have their opinion what was proper to be done.

" The intelligence was undoubted, that the enemy were to wait for us at Coiryergh ; where their different parties, from the head of Loch Lochy, and Lugganauchnadrum, might easily join them. intended to line the traverses or winding of the road, up the mountain, which are seventeen in number. In these traverses their men would be intrenched to their teeth. They are flanked by a hollow water-course, which falls from the top of the mountain ; they intended to line this water-course, where their men would be well covered, as likewise numbers of them might be among the rocks, on the top of the hill. They proposed to break down the bridge at Snugburrow, which lifts the roads over a steep precipice, and to place men in two hollow ways, which flank the road both ways. Formerly several of these officers had marched over that ground, and all of them unani-

mously agreed, that to force the rebels in it was utterly impracticable; it must inevitably be attended with the loss of all our provisions, artillery, and military stores, &c. and indeed of the troops; that the giving the rebels any success upon their first setting out, was by all means to be prevented, as what might be attended with bad consequences to the service.

“The next question then was, Whether it was most advisable to return to Stirling with all expedition, or march to Ruthven, and so on to Inverness? Upon this they were also unanimous in their opinion, that to return to Stirling was by no means advisable. The rebels could march to Stirling a nearer way than we could, by marching down the side of Loch-Rannoch. They would get to the bridge of Kynachin before us; they'd break it down, and thereby cut off our retreat. This is a bridge upon Tumble, a water so rapid that it is not fordable in any place that I could hear of. To stay where we were, and thereby pretend to stop their progress Southward, was folly: they could without coming over Coiryergh, go South, by roads over the mountains, practicable for them, utterly impracticable for regular troops. And, upon taking a survey of our provisions, we found, that, what from our having been under a necessity to leave a great deal of it by the way upon the march, for want of horses to bring it along, (which we found it impossible to get), and what from the great damage which that part of it which we did bring forward, had received from the rains, we had not above two days bread left that could be ate, and we were unhappily in a country that could not supply us. There was therefore no manner of choice left us—to Inverness we must go—which we did accordingly.

“We made no longer stay there than was absolutely necessary for our preparing for our march to Aberdeen. The night before we left Inverness, we were joined by 200 of the Monroes, under the command of Captain George Monro of Culcairn, who went along with us to Aberdeen, and were the only highlanders, not of the regular troops, who joined us in this expedition.

Our



“ Our march to Aberdeen was no less expeditious than our former; from Creiff to Inverness, and from thence to Aberdeen, the General did not allow us to rest one day. Upon our arrival there, we found he had taken care to have transports ready, and every thing in order for carrying us to Leith by sea. We came to Dunbar on Monday the 16th of September, and all the troops were landed there on the 17th, and the artillery, &c. on the 18th, as the first and nearest place we could land at on the South side of the fiith.”

As there was nothing now to oppose the highlanders, their main body, said not to exceed 2500, with the young Chevalier at their head, accompanied by the late Marquis of Tullibardine, &c. reached the braes of Athol on the 30th, and next day came to Blair. On this, the Duke of Athol, and several Perthshire and Fife Gentlemen removed to Edinburgh. 'Tis said the Chevalier's party had, by means of their frigate, seized three vessels on the West coast; one of them the Princess Mary of Renfrew, laden with meal.

All this while, the magistrates and inhabitants of Edinburgh were very attentive to what passed. About the 9th of August proper orders were given to the officers of the trained bands, constables, &c. A little after, the city-guard was augmented with 30 men; and all stables, innkeepers, &c. were required to give the Captain of the guard an account of all strangers, immediately on their coming to lodge with them, on pain of 5l. for every offence. On the 26th, and some days after, strict search was made thro' the printing-houses, but without making any discovery, for some treasonable papers, said to be intitled, *A declaration, A commission of regency, A manifesto*, &c. copies of which had been dropt at Perth, inclosed in blank covers addressed to the Sheriff-depute, Provost, &c.

Nor were the ministers of state less vigilant. Besides those formerly taken up, Alexander Fraser, sometime servant to John Drummond, a Captain in the French service, just come over from Holland, was committed to Edinburgh jail on the 11th of August; John Macleod,  
also

also from Holland, on the 13th; and James Rollo of Powhouse, to Edinburgh castle, on the 23d; all by warrant of the Lord Advocate, on suspicion of treason.

When these commotions began, the Duke of Argyle, who was one of the Lords Justices, was in the West of Scotland. His Grace came to Edinburgh on the 16th of August, and set out for London on the 21st.

General Blakeney, who came Post from London arrived at Edinburgh on the 27th, and proceeded to Stirling. Gardiner's dragoons lay at that town, and Hamilton's in Canongate and Leith.

A detachment of the highlanders entered Perth on the 3d of September. Next day at noon some papers were read over the cross, supposed to be those above-mentioned. In the afternoon the young Chevalier entered that town, where the main body soon rendezvoused, having set up a standard, with the motto *TANDEM TRIUMPHANS*. On the 7th, a detachment entered Dundee; where they read the papers formerly read at Perth, searched the town for horses, arms and ammunition, and levied the publick money, giving receipts. Next day, however, the Ministers of the established church preached as usual, prayed for King George, and warmly exhorted their hearers to be steadfast in their loyalty, all without molestation, tho' some of the highlanders were present. The ship of William Graham of Perth was seized by them at Dundee, and carried up to Perth supposed to have some gun-powder on board. Parties of them were said to have visited some towns in Fife. The main body was at Perth on the 9th; whence the magistrates had retired to Edinburgh before, or soon after their arrival. Travellers got passes, which run in these terms, *Charles Prince of Wales, &c. Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and of the dominions thereunto belonging*, which were subscribed by a Secretary, and had a Royal seal.

Accounts of the rebels having entered Athol came to Edinburgh on the 31st of August in the evening. At six the drum beat to arms, and Hamilton's dragoons incamped that night in St. Ann's yards. The town-coun-

cil likewise met, and ordained the keys of the gates to be lodged with the Captain of the guard, centries to be placed at each, and a second augmentation of the city-guard to be made. Next night and for some time after, a company of trained bands mounted the guard. Arms were sent from the city magazine to Leith, to arm the inhabitants. The city-walls were ordered to be repaired, cannon to be placed on them, and a ditch to be thrown up, from the North-side of the castle to the North-loch. To hasten these fortifications, the workmen were busied even on Sunday the 8th; a thing very uncommon in this country (thank God). That day, the latter part of 6000 stand of arms, from London, were carried to the castle from Leith. A great many of the principal inhabitants having offered to defend the city at the hazard of their Lives, together with the regular trained bands, under the command of the Lord Provost, his Majesty's Lord Lieutenant, his Lordship, by the advice of the crown-lawyers, accepted their offer; and, upon a proper application, a Royal sign-manual, dated Sept. 4th came to town, authorising the Lord Provost, and magistrates and council to raise, form, discipline and maintain at their own proper charge, by voluntary subscription of the inhabitants, 1000 foot, for the defence of the city, and support of his Majesty's government. A subscription was accordingly opened on the 9th of September. In two hours, money for maintaining 600 men was subscribed for, and a month's pay advanced. The same day a subscription for volunteers was opened, to which a great number of the inhabitants crowded to sign. Both subscriptions, and the enlisting of the men for the Edinburgh regiment, went on successfully. The volunteers had arms and ammunition out of his Majesty's magazine, and were daily exercised. Some Ministers filed among them. Glasgow, Aberdeen, and the other noted towns, were likewise taking proper measures for their own security.

Hamilton's dragoons moved their camp from St. Anne's yards to Beardfor's park, to the North of the castle,



castle, on the 4th, from thence to Leith links on the 6th. All the vessels on the Forth lay on the South side. Fasts were observed on account of these commotions; that by appointment of the Presbytery of Edinburgh was on the 5th. Three Episcopal Ministers and two Gentlemen were apprehended at Stirling on the 7th, and committed, on suspicion of their intending to join the rebels.

About the beginning of September, a Royal sign-manual came down, for raising twenty independant companies in Scotland, under the direction of the Lord President of the session.

The highland army, were at Perth on the 9th of September. Thence they marched on the 11th, and on the 13th crossed the Forth, a few miles above Stirling. On their approach, Gardiner's dragoons retired to Falkirk.

When this news reached Edinburgh the magistrates, &c. immediately assembled, the trained bands mounted guard in the parliament-house, the voluntiers in the exchequer, and the Edinburgh regiment in the justiciary-hall.—The trained bands consisted of sixteen companies, different in number, some 60 and some 100 men; but at that time they were fewer, as several of them had joined the Gentlemen voluntiers. Of these there were six companies, in number about 400, commanded by Captain Provost George Drummond, one of the Commissioners of Excise; Provost Archibald Macaulay, Conservator of the Scots privileges at Campvere; Dean of Gild James Nimmo, Receiver General of the Excise duties; James Ker Jewler, Ingraver in the Mint; Baillie Alexander Blackwood, Merchant in Edinburgh; and Sir George Preston of Valleyfield. Besides these, there were above 200 Seceders voluntiers, commanded by Mr. Bruce of Kennet. They were divided into three companies, under Captain John Moubray Wigmaker. William Beveridge and Richard Jerment Shipmasters. Upwards of 200 men were raised for the Edinburgh regiment but none of the officers were appointed, except Allan

Allan Burn Adjutant. The city guard are about 120 trained men, and have three Captains. The trained bands had the city's arms and ammunition; and the volunteers and Edinburgh regiment got arms and ammunition out of the King's magazine in the castle.

Next day, the 14th, the banks, publick offices, and the most valuable effects of some private persons, were removed to the castle.

On the 14th and 15th, the workmen were busied in completing the scaffolding upon the ramparts, erecting palisadoes and barricades at the gates, and planting cannon on the bastions and other proper places.

Certain notice was received on the 15th in the morning that the van of the highland army was arrived at Linlithgow; and it was reported, that detachments of them were come to Kirkliston, Wainsburgh, and Gogar, about five or six miles West of the city. Gardiner's dragoons retired as they advanced, and drew up at Corstorphin, two miles West of the city.

On receiving this news, 'tis said that two Captains of the volunteers proposed to General Guest, who had the chief command in the absence of General Cope, that 250 of the volunteers should march out, and join the dragoons. The General thanked them, and sent to ask 50 of the city guard likewise. The Lord Provost at first thought it absolutely necessary for the safety of the place, that all the city-guard should be kept within the town; but upon a Gentleman's observing, that if, by complying with the General's request, the enemy's progress should be stopped, the city would thereby be effectually preserved, his Lordship, instead of 50, ordered the whole city guard, and all the men enlisted for the Edinburgh regiment that were not on guard in the town, to march out, and receive orders from the commanders of the King's troops. Hereupon General Guest ordered Hamilton's dragoons to decamp from Leith links, and to join Gardiner's at Corstorphin. At eleven o'clock the fire-bell rung, as the signal for the volunteers to arm. About twelve Hamilton's dragoons marched through the city, and proceeded to Corstorphin. A little after, the whole

whole city guard, headed by four Captains, together with the detachment of the Edinburgh regiment, marched out, and halted on the East-side of the Colt-bridge, in expectation of being joined by the body of volunteers. By this time there was a demur among the volunteers. As they had engaged to defend the town, they thought they should not march out of it. One or two companies of them however, marched to the West-port; but proceeded no farther. Then the Lord Provost sent orders to the city-guard, &c. to march forward and join the dragoons; which they immediately did, and continued under arms till night. At nine o'clock the dragoons retired to the East-side of the Colt bridge, a mile West of Edinburgh, and lay upon their arms all night. The city guard, &c. came into the town. All the volunteers, a great part of the trained bands, and those of the Edinburgh regiment that had not marched to Corstorphin, continued under arms all day within the town; and at night, after placing the proper guards consisting of about 700 men, the rest received orders not to stir, but to be ready to appear at their respective alarm-posts whenever they should hear the fire-bell. Two small bodies of men from about Dalkeith and Musselburgh came in by order of the Duke of Buccleugh's doers and Sir Robert Dickson of Carberry, to assist in defending the city, and got arms and ammunition delivered them.

Next morning, the city-guard and the detachment of the Edinburgh regiment marched out again, and joined the dragoons. Mean time the highland army continued their march toward Edinburgh. On their approach, a party of dragoons posted near Corstorphin, retired to the main body at Colt-bridge. Which post they all quitted about three o'clock afternoon. The city soldiers came into the town; and the dragoons rode off by the North-side of the city towards Leith, then took the road to Musselburgh, and thence to Haddington. Their baggage and tents were left behind, and carried into the castle.

This precipitant flight occasioned a general consternation in the city. There was certain notice got, that

General



General Cope, with the troops under his command, were to have embarked at Aberdeen about the 14th or 15th; and the news of their landing in Lothain was hourly expected. But, as no accounts of them was come, as the regular forces had fled, and as all the ministers of state had withdrawn from the impending danger, a great many of the inhabitants thought it high time to consult the safety of the city likewise. Accordingly a petition, signed by several citizens of great property, was presented to the magistrates and council, then assembled in the goldsmiths hall, craving that a meeting of the inhabitants should be instantly called, in order to determine what was proper to be done. The Lord Provost seemed not to relish this petition. He said, That as all the inhabitants were well armed, as some people from the country had likewise come to their assistance, and as great expences had been laid out in fortifying the city, there was no doubt but they ought to stand to their defence; and that he himself should first mount the ramparts. To this the petitioners answered, That a great many of the trained bands were of opinion that the city was not tenible; that the sudden flight of the regular forces made it evident they were of the same opinion; and that, if standing out for an hour or two, which was all that could be done, would bring the lives and properties of the inhabitants into certain hazard, without doing any real service to the cause intended to be served, it was certainly more eligible to capitulate upon the best terms that could be got. On this the Lord Provost, seeing a Gentleman who is possessed of a considerable place under the government, and was formerly in the army, asked his advice. The Gentleman, after commiserating his Lordship's situation, in being at the head of a city so much divided in their sentiments about their own strength gave it as his opinion, that, if all the inhabitants were of one mind, the city might perhaps hold out for a short time; but, as he found them divided, care should be taken that the King's arms should not fall into the hands of the enemy. His Lordship,

after a great deal of reasoning, agreed to call a meeting of the inhabitants, as desired by the petition.

Hereupon all concerned were invited to attend in the New-church isle. The fire-bell rung a long time; and several persons went up and down the streets, telling every body of the design of the meeting. When the Lord Provost, magistrates, and a great number of the inhabitants, were assembled, his Lordship told them, That the magistrates had called them together for their advice; that the city had been put to very great expence in preparing for a defence; that, for his own part, he had not got a military education, and was altogether unskilled in these matters; that therefore he intreated his fellow-citizens to advise what should be done in the present exigency, and he would chearfully do what should be agreed upon by them. The point in debate was, Whether or not the town should stand out? Mention having been made, in the course of the reasoning, of the assistance to be expected from the dragoons, the Lord Provost told, that he had been present at a council of war the night before, in which it was the opinion of all the officers, that the bringing the dragoons into the town, would be cooping them up to their destruction: In a little time, the Secretary at war came with a message from General Guest. It would appear, that a warrant had been sent to the General a few hours before, signed by the Lord Provost and the Lord Advocate, *impowering* him, if he thought proper, to send in 100 dragoons, to assist in the defence of the city. His Excellency now wanted to know, whether the Lord Provost *desired* that the 100 dragoons, or a greater number, and what number, should enter the town. When the opinion of the meeting was asked, they answered, *No dragoons*. The Lord Provost then desired the Secretary to tell the General, that, after what had passed in the council of war, it was to be feared, if he should *call in* the dragoons, and any ill consequences follow, it might be said that he had drawn them into a snare; that therefore he could not desire them: but, if the General thought proper to order the whole or any number in, the gates should

should be open for their reception. No dragoons, however, came. The question was then put Whether the town should be defended? and only three or four said *Yes*. Upon this it was agreed to capitulate on the best terms that could be got, and that in the mean time the King's arms should be returned to the castle. When they were about to name deputies for treating with the highland army, a letter was handed in, addressed to the Lord Provost and magistrates; which was ordered to be read. It began to this purpose. *Whereas we are now ready to enter the beloved metropolis of our ancient kingdom of Scotland*—Here the reader was stopped, and asked by whom the letter was signed. Upon his telling, that it was superscribed, *Charles Prince of Wales, &c.*—the Lord Provost would not hear it read; so the meeting broke up. The magistrates and council returned to the goldsmiths' hall, and sent off the deputies. Mean time the volunteers marched up to the castle, and returned their arms; which great numbers of them seemed to do with reluctance. The Edinburgh regiment returned theirs likewise; and a party of the trained bands and city-company kept guard all night.

About an hour after the deputies had gone out of town, a Gentleman assured the council, that General Cope with the troops were landed at Dunbar, twenty miles East of the city. It appeared that this news was premature. The magistrates, &c. regretted that the intelligence had not come an hour sooner; and the Lord Provost and some others renewed their thoughts of making a defence. A Gentleman was immediately dispatched, to call back the deputies. But he did not come up with them. According to their instructions, they waited of the chiefs of the highland army at Gray's-mill, about two miles South-west of Edinburgh, and proposed terms. The chiefs answered, That the declaration and manifesto emitted by their King and Prince contained the only terms any city or person were to expect; and desired to know the magistrates resolution against two o'clock next morning. In order to protract time, deputies were again sent, to ask a few hours to



consider of the terms proposed, But this was refused. A detachment of 900 highlanders thereupon got orders, and marched before day, undiscovered, close to the Netherbow. They brought some barrels of powder along with them, in order to have blown up the gate. But a little after their arrival, a coach happening to come down the town, the centinels, tho' they had orders not to let the gate be opened, permitted the porter to let out the coach, suspecting no ill consequences. So soon as the gate opened, the highlanders rushed in, took possession of the gate, then of the main guard, making the soldiers on duty prisoners, and forthwith placed guards at all the gates, and at the weigh-house, &c. This surprized the magistrates and council, and put an end to their deliberations.

Immediately after the detachment entered the Netherbow, the castle hung out a flag, which continued long displayed, fired some guns as a signal, and required the inhabitants not to appear on the castle-hill.

About noon the main body of the army came into the King's park, by the way of Duddingston, having made a pretty large circuit, to avoid being within reach of the castle-guns. The young Chevalier, in highland dress, with some of the chiefs, went into the Royal palace of Holyrood-house, and the troops lay in the park. Vast numbers of people of all persuasions crowded to see the Chevalier.

The detachment that entered the city in the morning, had secured the heralds, pursuivants, &c. and, betwixt twelve and one o'clock at noon, they were carried to the cross in their formalities, and there caused read, with sound of trumpet, a declaration and commission of regency, both superscribed *James R.* subscribed *J. R.* and dated at Rome. December 23. 1743. and a manifesto, superscribed *Charles P. R.* subscribed *C. P. R.* and dated at Paris, May 16. 1745.

In said declaration and manifesto, a general pardon was granted for all treasons, &c. committed before the publication of them, and ample promises made to secure all Protestant subjects in the free exercise of their religion,

on, and in the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges.

None of the magistrates appeared in their proper habits, after this: some of them and of the other inhabitants went out of town; as several of the volunteers had done the night before, after giving up their arms.

Soon after the highland army came into the town, a journal was published by authority, in substance as follows; "The Prince being informed that Lieutenant General Cope was to march over Coiryergh on the 27th of August, ordered his whole army to decamp, and at four o'clock in the morning marched from Aberchallader in Glengary over the hill of Coiryergh, with a resolution to fight. But General Cope, having got notice of our strength the day before, was so intimidated, that he altered his route from Coiryergh to Ruthven in Badenoch, and made such dispatch, to prevent our attacking his rear, that in two days he performed a four days march.

At night when we arrived at Garvamore, our men were so vexed at General Cope's having escaped, that 500 of them proposed to follow him, and march twenty four miles under night in order to intercept him; but, upon mature consideration, the proposal was not thought practicable. On the 28th, we marched to Dalwhinnie, the 29th to Dalnacardich, 30th to Blair, 1st of September to Dunkeld, 3d to Perth, where we quartered till the 11th. That day we marched to Dumblain, rested the 12th and on the 13th crossed the Forth at a ford under Balquhan. We expected to be opposed by Gardiner's dragoons, who we heard threatened to cut us to pieces if we durst attempt to cross the Forth: but as soon as they heard of our having crossed, they galloped away to Falkirk. On the 14th, we marched from Touch to Falkirk, the town of Stirling having opened its gates to receive us. Hearing that Gardiner's dragoons lay at Linlithgow, about six miles distant, the Prince ordered a detachment of 500 men to attack them that night in their Camp. But Colonel Gardiner marched off in a hurry at seven o'clock at night, and incamped at Kirkliston, six miles further East. The 15th, we incamped

three miles to the East of Linlithgow; and on the 16th marched towards Corstorphin; where we received intelligence, that Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoons had joined, and were ready to receive us. But their piquet guards, seeing our number, and the regularity of our march, took to their heels, and the whole dragoons fled precipitantly that evening to Musselburgh. We incamped on the 16th at Gray's-mill; where deputies from the city of Edinburgh came, to demand time for drawing up a capitulation. The Answer given them was, That the King's declaration and the Prince's manifesto contained such terms as every subject ought to accept with joy, and that they had no other to expect. To consider of this they were allowed four hours, and required to return a positive answer by two o'clock next morning. But, no such answer coming, and a further delay being asked, the Prince refused to treat any longer; and immediately gave proper orders to a detachment of 900 men; who marched under night, and early in the morning rushed in at the Nether-bow gate, and took possession of the town. The Prince marched his army the 17th to Holyrood-house, and incamped in the King's Park."

The highland army seized all the cannon arms and ammunition belonging to the city, and issued a proclamation, dated September 18. requiring all persons in Mid-Lothain, forthwith to deliver up, at the palace of Holyrood-house, all the arms and ammunition they had in their custody, on pain of being treated as rebels.

On the 19th, a message was sent to the city of Edinburgh, superscribed *Charles P. R.* and subscribed *C. P. R.* requiring, on pain of military execution, that 1000 tents, 2000 targets, 6000 pairs of shoes, and a proportional number of water cantines, should be furnished to the army against the 23d; and promising payment so soon as the present troubles should be over. A meeting of the inhabitants was thereupon called, and the tents, &c. ordered to be got ready. They were accordingly furnished, and 2s. 6d. laid on each pound of real rent within the city, Canongate, and Leith, for defraying



fraying the charge. About the same time some printers were compelled to print several papers for them.

The friends of the government, however expected, that a stop would soon be put to the progress of the highland army. Brigadier Fowkes, who had arrived at Edinburgh from London on the 15th, marched next day with the dragoons Eastward. General Cope, with the transports, arrived off Dunbar the same day. Next day the troops were landed there; and the artillery, &c. on the 18th. The army marched from Dunbar towards Edinburgh on the 19th, and was joined by the two regiments of dragoons. The highland army, who lay incamped at Duddingston, a mile East of Edinburgh, marched off on the 20th in the morning to meet General Cope, without leaving any men in Edinburgh. That night the two armies came in sight of each other, and next morning came to an action, a little to the North of Tranent, to the East of Preston, and to the West of Seton, about seven miles East from Edinburgh. The account published by authority at London is as follows..

Sept. 24. By an express which arrived this morning we are informed, that Sir John Cope, and the troops under his command, were attacked by the rebels on the 21st instant, at day-break, at Preston, near Seton, seven miles from Edinburgh; that the King's troops were defeated, and Sir John Cope, with about 450 dragoons, had retired to Lauder; Brigadier Fowkes and Colonel Lascelles had got to Dunbar; but as yet we have no accounts of the particulars of this action, nor of the loss on either side. The Earls of Loudon and Home, and some of the Gentlemen volunteers, were at Lauder with Sir John Cope.

For a more particular detail of this action, we shall subjoin an extract from the officer's letter already quoted.

" We marched from Dunbar on the 19th towards Edinburgh. We incamped that night upon the field West-ward of Haddington, and set out from thence early the next morning.

On

" On this day's march we had frequent intelligence brought, that the rebels were advancing towards us with their whole body, with a quick pace. We could not therefore get to the ground it was intended we should, having still some miles to march through a country, some part of which was interlined with walls. The General therefore thought it proper to chuse the first open ground he found; and a better spot could not have been chosen for the cavalry to be at liberty to act in. We got out the defiles in our way and came to the ground just in time before the enemy got up to us.

" We had no sooner completed our disposition, and got our little army formed in excellent order, than the rebels appeared upon the high ground South of us. We then formed a full front to theirs, prepared either to wait their coming to us, or to take the first advantage for attacking them. During this interval we exchanged several hazzas with them, and probably from their not liking our disposition, they began to alter their own. They made a large detachment to their left towards Preston, (as we imagined) in order to take us in the flank, their number being vastly superior to ours.

" Our General having upon this, with several of the officers, reconnoitred their design, immediately caused us to change our front; forming us with our right to the sea, and our left where the front had been. This disposition disappointed their project of taking us in flank, and that part of their army immediately countermarched back again.

" From this change of theirs, we were again obliged to take new ground; which our people constantly performed with great alacrity and regular exactness, and in all outward appearance with a chearful countenance, and eager desires to engage.

" The night coming on, the enemy so near, we could only content ourselves, with a small train of six gallopers, to throw a few shot among an advanced party of theirs who had taken possession of the church-yard of Tranent, that lay between their front and ours.

" Till

" Till about three in the morning, of a very dark night, our patrols could scarce perceive any motion they made, every thing seemed so quiet: but about this hour, the patrols reported them to be in full march with great silence, towards the East: at four they reported, that they were continuing their march North East. From this it appeared, they designed to attack our left flank with their main body; and upon the General's being confirmed that this was their intention, he made a disposition in less time than one would think it possible, by which he brought our front to theirs, and secured our flanks by several dikes on our right, towards Tranent, with our left flank inclining to the Sea.

" The moment this disposition was completed, three large bodies in columns, of their picked-out highlanders, came in apace though in a collected body, with great swiftness. And the column which was advancing towards our right, where our train was posted, after receiving the discharge of a few pieces, almost in an instant, and before day broke, seized the train, and threw into the utmost confusion a body of about 100 foot of ours, which was posted there to guard it.

" All remedies, in every shape, were tried by the General, Brigadier Fowke, the Earls of Loudon and Home, and the officers about them, to remedy this disorder; but in vain. This, unhappily, with the fire made (tho' a very irregular one) by the highland column on our right, struck such a pannick into the dragoons, that in a moment they fled, and left Gardiner their Colonel, (who was heard to call upon them to stand), to receive the wounds that left him on the field. His Lieutenant Colonel, Whitney, while within his horse's length of them, coming up with his squadron to attack them, received a shot which shattered his arm, and was left by his squadron too. And from this example, the whole body became possessed with the same fatal dread; so that it became utterly impossible for the General, or any one of the best intentioned of his officers, either to put an end to their fears, or stop their flight; tho' he and they did all that was in the power of men to do, and in  
doing



doing it exposed themselves in such a manner to the fire of the rebels, that I cannot account for their escaping in any other way, but that all of it was aimed at the run-away dragoons; who in spite of all endeavours to stop them, ran away from the field, through the town of Preston; Gardiner's by the defile which passes by his house, which was in our rear on the right; and Hamilton's by one on our left, North of the house of Preston.

" At the West end of the town of Preston, the General, with the Earls of Loudon and Home, stopped, and endeavoured by all possible means to form and bring them back to charge the enemy, now in disorder on the pursuit; but to no purpose. Upon which he put himself at their head, and made a retreat leisurely, towards the road leading South from Edinburgh to Ginglekirk, and thereby kept a body of about 450 of them together, and carried them into Berwick next day.

" Brigadier Fowke, seeing things in this extremity with the dragoons, and hearing several discharges in his rear, galloped towards it, believing that it came from a body of our foot, who might be still maintaining their ground, hoping by them to retrieve the fortune of the day. He was mistaken; it was the rebels: the smoke of their fire, and the little day light prevented his discovering who they were, till he was close upon the right flank of their main body; and he must have fallen into their hands, if Captain Wedderburn, a foot officer of ours, had not called out aloud to him to apprize him of his danger.

" I am told that Colonel Lascelles behaved very gallantly. Being deserted by his men, he fell into the enemy's hands upon the field; but, in the hurry they were in, he found means to make his escape Eastward, and got safe to Berwick.

I do not mention the behaviour of the officers. I saw a good many of them exerting themselves to rally the dragoons, before they entered the defiles, thro' which they fled from the field. In general, I have not heard one single suggestion against any one man, who had the honour to carry the King's commission, either in the  
 dragoons

dragoons or foot, as if he had not done his duty. Neither officers nor General can divest men of dread and panick when it seizes them; he only can do that who makes the heart of man. To their being struck with a most unreasonable panick, and to no one thing else, the disgraceful event was owing. The ground was to our wish, the disposition was unexceptionable, and we were fully formed.

"I know you will expect that I should inform you what were the numbers on both sides in the action.— Of our side, I am convinced we were not above 1500 men who should have fought. As to them it was so dark when they came to attack us, that I could only perceive them like a black hedge moving towards us. Some people magnify their numbers, others endeavour to lessen them; but, by the best accounts, and the most to be depended upon, (which I have been able to get), they were not less than 5000 men."

The account of this affair published by the highland army is as follows:

"On Fridady, the 20th of September, in the morning, the Prince put himself at the head of the army at Duddington, and presenting his sword, said, *My friends, I have flung away the scabbard.* This was answered with a chearful huzza. The army marched, and drew up on Carberry-hill; where we learned that General Cope had fallen down into the low country, East of Prestonpans. This directed our march along the brow of the hill, till we descried the enemy; upon which the highlanders gave a shout by way of defiance, expressing such eagerness to run down upon them, that nothing less than authority could restrain them from coming to action directly.

"Some Gentlemen went out to observe their camp and reconnitre the ground, while the army advanced, till it came opposite to and at half a mile's distance from the enemy. These Gentlemen returning, informed, that they had got into a fastness, which having a very broad and deep ditch in front, the town of Preston on the right, some houses and a small morass on the left,

and

and the frith of Forth on the rear. This made it impracticable to attack them in front, but at the greatest risk.

" That evening Mr. Cope discharged several cannon at us. A Gentleman who had seen their army that day, advised us, That they were above 4000 strong, besides voluntiers, Seceders, &c. from Edinburgh, and several Gentlemen at the head of their tenants; that General Hamilton's dragoons stood on the right, Colonel Gardiner's on the left; that the regiments of Lalcelles and Murray, 5 companies of Lee's, 4 of Guise's, 3 of the Earl of Loudon's, and a number of recruits for regiments abroad and at home, formed the centre; and that they were all in top spirits.

" Both armies lay upon their arms all night. Mr. Cope's threw off several coe-horns, to let us understand they were alert, and had large fires at several places round their camp. Our men continued very silent; not one word was heard,

" About three in the morning of Saturday the 21st, we got off the ground, and marched Eastward; then turning North, formed a line in order to prevent the enemy's retreat through the East country, while another body of men were posted to provide against their stealing a march upon us toward Edinburgh.

" The disposition of the attack being made, the Prince addressed his army in these words: *Follow me Gentlemen; by the assistance of God I will this day make you a free and happy people.* We marched chearfully on, and engaged the enemy. The right wing was led on by the Duke of Perth, Lieutenant-General; and consisted of the regiments of Clanronald, Keppoch, Glengary and Glenco: the left by Lord George Murray, Lieutenant-General; consisting of the battalions of Camerons, commanded by Lochiel; the Stuarts of Appin, by Ardshiel; one body of the Macgregors, with Glencairneg; and the rest of the Macgregors with the Duke of Perth's men, under Major James Drummond. The enemy's artillery plaid furiously upon our left, especially on Lochiel's battallions; yet only one private man was killed,  
and



and a Gentleman wounded: their cannon also raked our right wing, but did no great execution. As soon as the signal for beginning the attack was given, the highlanders pulled off their bonnets, looked up to heaven, made a short prayer, and ran forward. The fire of the enemy's cannon was followed by a very regular fire of the dragoons on their right and left, and this again by close platoons of their infantry; which our men received with the greatest intrepidity: nor did we return the enemy's fire till we approached them so near as that the collision of our shot might set their whiskers on fire. The highlanders, having discharged their muskets threw them down, then drew their swords, and carried all before them like a torrent; so that, in seven or eight minutes, both horse and foot were totally routed and drove from the field of battle; tho' it must be owned that the enemy fought very gallantly: but they could not withstand the impetuosity, or rather fury of the highlanders, and were forced to *run* when they could no longer *resist*.

"Some dragoons formed soon after on a neighbouring eminence; but observing our men marching to attack them, fled to Dalkeith, others took shelter in the neighbouring villages, others again got to Leith; Major Cawfield rode up to the castle of Edinburgh, and was followed by a few dragoons.

"As the second line, which was commanded by the Lord Nairn, and consisted of the Athol men, Strowan's people, the Maclachlans, &c. could not come up to have a share of the honour, and the Nobility, Gentry, &c. stood on horseback, as a reserve, it may in justice be said That 2000 highland foot unsupported by horse, and charged in front and flank with artillery and small arms, routed a regular army of above four thousand horse and foot in open plain, and obtained a most signal and complete victory with a very inconsiderable loss.

"The Prince, as soon as victory declared for him, mounted his horse, and put a stop to the slaughter; and finding no surgeons amongst the enemy, dispatched an officer to Edinburgh with orders to bring all the surgeons to attend; which was accordingly done.

" All the enemy's cannon, mortars, several colours, standards, abundance of horses and arms, all their tents, baggage, equipage, and military chest, in which there was 4000 l. Sterling, were taken.

" 'Tis computed that about 500 of the enemy were killed, 900 wounded, 1400 taken prisoners.

" We had killed on the spot, Captain Robert Stuart of Ardsheill's battalion; Captain Archibald Macdonald, of Keppoch's; Lieutenant Allan Cameron of Lindevra, and Ensign James Cameron, both of Lochiel's; and about 30 private men. Wounded: Captain James Drummond, alias Macgregor, of the Duke of Perth's regiment, and about 70 or 80 private men.

" On the other hand, the enemy had killed, Colonel Gardiner; Captain John Stuart of Phisgill, of Lascelles's regiment; Braimer and Rogers, of Lee's; Holwell, of Guise's; Bishop, and Ensign Forbes, of Murray's.

We have taken prisoners.

" *Of Gardiner's dragoons*: Lieutenant Colonel Whitney w [not taken]; Lieutenant Grafton w; Quartermasters Young, Burrough's w, and West.

" *Hamilton's*: Lieutenant Colonel Wright w; Major Bowles w; Cornets Jacob w and Nash; Quartermaster Nash; Doctor Trotter.

" *Of Guise's foot*: Captain Pointz w; Lieutenants Cuming and Paton; Ensigns Wakeman and Irvine.

" *Lord John Murray's, the old highland regiment*: Captain Sir Patrick Murray; Lieutenant James Farquharson; Ensign Allan Campbell.

" *Lee's*: Lieutenant Colonel Peter Halket; Captains Basil Cochran, Chapman, and Talton; Lieutenants Sandilands w, Drummond w, Kennedy, and Hewitson w; Ensigns Hardwick, Archer, and Dunbar; Mr. Wilson Quartermaster; Doctor Young.

" *Murray's*: Lieutenant Colonel Clayton; Major Talbot; Captain Reid. John Cochran Scot, Thomas Leslie w, and Blake w; Lieutenants Sir Thomas Hay w, Disney w, Wale, Wry, and Simms w; Ensigns Sutherland, Lucey, Haldane w, Birnie, and L'Estrange; Adjutant Spencer.

" *Lascelles's*

"*Lascelles's*: Major Severn; Captains Barlow, Forrester, Anderson, Corbet, and Collier; Captain Lieutenant Adam Drummond; Lieutenants Swinie w, Johnston, Dundas, and Herron w; Ensigns Stone, Cox, Bell, Gordon, and Goulton; Doctor Drummond.

"*Loudon's new highland regiment*: Captains Mackay, Monro, and Stewart, Captain Lieutenant Macnab; Lieutenant Reed; Ensigns Grant, Ross, and MacLaggan; Mr. Hugh Hunter Surgeon.

"Lieutenant Colonel Whiteford volunteer w; Major Griffith w; Master-Gunner of Edinburgh castle; Lieutenant Carrick."

N. B. w is annexed to the names of those that were said to have been wounded.

In a subsequent paper, it was said, that after the most strict inquiry, it appeared that only 1456 of the highland army engaged.

Accounts varied as to the numbers of both sides. Different computations made the highlanders 4, 5000, and above that number. Some said that General Cope's army did not exceed 2500 foot, and 6 or 700 dragoons; and others, that they were in whole under 3000. But the following seems to be the truest list of the regular forces.

	<i>Rank and file.</i>	
Murray's regiment of foot	580	
8 Companies of Lascelles's	}	570
2 Companies of Guise's		
5 Companies of Lee's		
Of the two highland regiments	183	
Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoons	567	
Exclusive of officers, Serjants, drums, &c.	—————	
	2191	

They were thus disposed.

The front line,	{ Foot	1158	}	1407
	{ Dragoons	249		
The second line, dragoons				200
The trained guard				100
The baggage guard, in which were all the highlanders				230
				Foot



Foot at Colonel Gardiner's house	70
Foot out on parties	66
Dragoons out on parties	118

From the battle, General Cope, with about 450 dragoons, escaped to Lauder, and thence to Berwick,

The Chevalier lay the 21st at Pinkie, and next night returned to Holyrood-house. The army lay the first night about Musselburgh; afterwards came to Duddingston, Canongate, &c. kept guard again in the city as before, and in some days after incamped at Duddingston. The Chevalier lay in the camp likewise.

All the prisoners taken at the battle of *Gladsmuir* (so called by the highland army) were carried to Edinburgh. The officers were liberate upon their parole. Not to depart from the city, nor correspond with the enemies of the Chevalier; the soldiers were confined in the church and prisons of the Canongate, &c.; and the wounded were taken care of. Some Serjeants, Corporals, and several private men, enlisted in the highland army; but a good many of them afterwards deserted. Towards the end of the month, the private men were sent to Logirate in Athol, and the officers to Perth. About 70 or 80 of Loudon's highland regiment, that could not be prevailed upon to enlist, were liberate, upon their swearing that they would never carry arms against the house of Stuart, and received some money each from the Chevalier to carry them home,

In the evening of the 21st, which was the Saturday after the highland army came to Edinburgh, and the day on which the battle was fought, a message was sent by the Chevalier to the respective dwelling-houses of the Ministers of that city, desiring them to continue publick worship as usual. The bells accordingly rung next day; but none of the Ministers appeared, so that there was sermon in none of the churches. A proclamation was issued in the name of the Chevalier, bearing date the 23d. forbidding any outward demonstrations of publick joy on account of the late victory, in regard it had been obtained by the effusion of blood, and had involved many  
unfortunate

unfortunate people in great calamity; admonishing all his friends to return thanks to God for his goodness towards them, as he did for himself by that proclamation; and concluding with these words: "And we hereby again repeat what we have so often declared, that no interruption shall be given to publick worship; but, on the contrary, all protection to those concerned in it: and and if, notwithstanding hereof, any shall be found neglecting their duty in that particular, let the blame lie entirely at their own door, as we are resolved to inflict no penalty that may possibly look like persecution." None of the Ministers, however, returned to their churches; but Mr. Hog, morning lecturer in the Tron church, continued to preach as formerly, without disturbance. Mess. Macivcar and Pitcairn, in the West-kirk, likewise continued in their ordinary, prayed for King George, and warmly recommended loyalty. Numbers from the city went to hear them, and there was no disturbance.

Of the same date, a second proclamation was issued, granting protection to all farmers within five miles of Edinburgh, upon their enacting themselves to be ready, on twelve hours warning, to furnish their horses for carrying the baggage of the army to Berwick upon Tweed, or the like distance.

A third was issued, dated the 24th, narrating, That whereas the Chevalier was informed, that several persons in and about Edinburgh, as well clergy as laity, did associate and take up arms against him, and that many of them had fled from their houses, to avoid prosecutions: he therefore granted a full pardon to such persons for all treasons committed by them before publication of the proclamation, provided that within twenty days they presented themselves to John Murray of Burghton, Esq; his Secretary, with a declaration that they should live for the future as quiet and peaceable subjects. A few of the volunteers, we hear did accordingly present themselves; others absconded before elapsing of the twenty days, and a great many continued peaceably about their business, without presenting themselves.

A fourth was issued, dated the 25th; in which, upon a narrative of the great inconveniencies that had attended the removal of the two banks into the castle, and from an opinion industriously spread, as if the Chevalier intended to seize the money where-ever it was found; he declared, that the money lodged in the banks should be entirely sure under his protection, and free from all contributions to be exacted by him in any time coming, so that the banks might return to their former business with safety; and that he himself should contribute so far in the re-establishment of publick credit, as to receive and issue bank-notes in payments. Neither of the banks, however, resumed their business. But, some time after this, a demand was made of a considerable sum in payment of notes which the army were possessed of; and 'tis said the directors were obliged to provide the money.

The superscription of all proclamations issued by the Chevalier is the same with that of the manifesto above mentioned; and the subscription is, *By his Highness's command, J. Murray.*

Besides these, there were several proclamations for preventing thefts and robberies. On pretence of searching for arms, there were irregularities committed; very often by persons who wore white cockades, and yet did not belong to the army. It is however certain, that several of the private men among the highlanders were likewise criminal. As they carried their arms always about with them, and as there was little probability of discovering delinquents, so as to get redress, people were afraid to make opposition. Some of these, however, were very moderate in their demands. They would sometimes present their piece; and, upon being asked what they wanted, answer *A penny*; with which they would rest satisfied.

Letters were sent to the following persons, to repair, upon receipt of the letter, to the Secretary's office at Holyrood-house, viz. to the magistrates of all the boroughs in Scotland, in order to have the contributions to



be paid by their respective towns, for the Chevalier's use, ascertained; which was to be done in proportion to the duties of excise arising out of each town; and for repayment of which, the said duty was to be assigned; as also to all the collectors of the land tax, the collectors and comptrollers of the customs and excise, and the factors on the forfeited estates, in order to produce their books, and to pay the balances due to them: to be obeyed on pain of being deemed, and treated as rebels. Great numbers found themselves obliged to comply. The goods in the custom-house of Leith, &c. were sold out for the Chevalier's use.

A demand was made upon the city of Glasgow, and compromised by payment of 5500*l*.

The passages of the Forth at Kinghorn, Queensferry, &c. and all navigation was in a manner blocked up by the King's ships.

Tho' the highland army kept guards in the weigh-house and in the Grass-market, no disturbance was given them from the castle till the 25th. That night there was some firing of cannon and small arms. Some of the cannon balls struck against or went into some houses at the West-port, but did little damage. On the 29th, the guard in the weigh-house received orders not to let any pass or repass to or from the castle. At night a letter was sent by General Guest to the Lord Provost, intimating, that unless the communication between the city and castle were kept open, he would be obliged to make use of cannon for dislodging the highland guards. It was said his Excellency had an order from court to distress the city in case it did not furnish provisions to the garrison. A message was sent to the castle, and obtained a respite for that night. Next morning six deputies waited on the Chevalier, and shewed him General Guest's letter. He immediately gave them an answer in writing, importing, That he was equally surprized and concerned at the barbarity of the order for bringing distress upon the city, for not doing what was not in its power to do; that should he out of compassion to the city, remove his guards, the castle might with equal reason  
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summon him to quit the town, and abandon the advantages which providence had granted him; that he should be heartily sorry for any mischief that might befall the city, and should make it his peculiar care to indemnify it in the most ample manner; and that in the mean time he should make full reprisals upon the estates of all those who were in the castle, and even upon all who were known to be abettors of the present government, if he were forced to it by such inhumanities. There were some meetings of the inhabitants called upon this affair. Deputies were sent oftner than once to the castle. At last a respite was obtained for a day, and afterwards for six days, in case no attack was made upon the castle, so as the city might have time to get a mitigation of the order from London. And an express was sent off for that purpose.

In the afternoon of the 1st of October, the highland centinels fired; whether at the castle, or, as was given out by themselves, to frighten people that were carrying up provisions, we cannot tell: but thereupon the castle fired a good many cannon and small shot, which damaged some houses, and wounded one of the highland centinels, and a servant maid. Next day the Chevalier published a proclamation, importing, That being resolved that no communication should be open between the castle and town of Edinburgh during his residence in that capital, and to prevent the bad effects of reciprocal firing from thence and from his troops, whereby the houses and inhabitants of the city might innocently suffer; he therefore made publick intimation, that none should dare, without a special pass signed by his secretary, upon pain of death, either to resort to, or come from the castle, upon any pretence whatsoever; with certification, that any person convicted of having had any such intercourse after the present proclamation, should immediately be carried to execution. It was now dangerous to be in sight of the castle; for they fired wherever they saw highlanders, and by that means killed and wounded several of the townsmen.

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On the 3d, a guard was placed at the West-kirk, and another at Livingston's yards, in order more closely to block up the castle. But, the same day, a single soldier slipped out, set fire to a house that defended the guard at the place last named, shot one of them dead, and returned safe. A little after, a party sallied out, killed some more of the guard, took an officer and a few men prisoners, and put the rest to flight.

On the 4th at noon, notice was sent to the inhabitants to remove from the North-parts of James's court, and places adjacent, lest some balls might chance to come that way. A few hours after, a terrible cannonading began. When it became dark, a party sallied out from the castle, and set fire to a founding-house, and another house, which was deserted by the inhabitants. This occasioned a great consternation. Mean time the salliers threw up a trench cross the castle hill; and, to prevent any interruption, scoured the streets with cartridge-shot from some field-pieces placed on the castle-hill; by which a merchant's book keeper and another person were killed, and severals wounded. Before their return, the soldiers pillaged some of the houses that had been deserted.

The firing continued next day, and distressed the inhabitants exceedingly. Bullets did execution at the Flesh-market close-head, so that no body was safe to stand on the street. Some houses were shattered. Those who lived exposed to the castle, removed; and carried out the aged and infirm at the imminent hazard of their lives. Great numbers that lived in places that were in no hazard, were likewise so frightened, that they ran out of town, not knowing whither. Several of the inhabitants sent off their valuable effects, and a good deal of them were lost in the confusion. It was a very affecting scene. But at night a proclamation was issued by the Chevalier, and published next day, to this purpose, That it was with the greatest regret he was hourly informed of the many murders which were committed upon the innocent inhabitants of the city, by the inhumane commanders and garrison of the castle, so contrary to the laws



laws of war, the truce granted to the city, and even exceeding the orders given upon this occasion; that, as he had threatened, he might justly proceed to use the powers which God had put into his hands, to chastise those who were instrumental in the ruin of this capital, by reprisals upon the estates and fortunes of those who warred against him; but that he thought it no ways derogatory to the glory of a prince, to suspend punishment, or alter a resolution, when thereby the lives of innocent men could be saved; that, in consequence of this sentiment, his humanity had yielded to the barbarity of his enemies; that the blockade of the castle was taken off, and the threatened punishment suspended.

After this people walked the streets with safety; but it was not convenient to be seen near any highlanders in sight of the castle. Four or five of the towns-people were killed, and a good many wounded, by shot from the castle while it was blockaded. The highlanders kept pretty much under covert, and said they did not suffer much. Notwithstanding all their endeavours to prevent it, provisions were every day carried into the castle; and we have not heard of any person either killed or wounded by the highlanders while they were carrying in the provisions, or punished for it.

The above account of the blockade of the castle, is mostly taken from papers published by authority or under the inspection of the Chevalier; we shall now give the other side, from the London Gazette, *viz.*

“ The communication between the town and castle of Edinburgh was kept open till the 29th of September; but that night the rebels took possession of all the avenues leading to the castle, in order to block it up. On the 1st of October, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the rebels began to dig a trench cross the street, a little below the reservoir (if any trench was begun to be dug, it must have been at the back of the reservoir, not cross the street). About three in the afternoon, the garrison fired on them with small arms; killed three of the rebels, and wounded the officer who commanded the party; upon which they discontinued to work at the trench.

trench. About four o'clock, some great guns were fired from the castle, which did little or no damage to the town. On the 4th, the garrison, under favour of a great fire of their cannon from the half moon, made a trench cross the castle-hill, half way between the gate and the houses, fourteen feet broad and sixteen deep; and from the parapet, made by the earth dug out of the trench on the side next the castle, with the fire of 200 men of the garrison, cleared the street. Upon the 5th, by the help of the towns-people, they obtained twenty black cattle, a quantity of bread and ale, and water from the reservoir. About five that evening, a considerable detachment of the rebels marched up to the castle-hill, to attack the party of the garrison in the trench, who retreated into the castle, upon their approach, without losing a man. The rebels, by creeping up the South-side of the hill, had twenty of their men killed by the cannon from the castle. The pretender's son having, upon the 2d of October, published an order for preventing all communication between the castle and the town, upon pain of death; and great numbers of the rebels having, for that purpose, been placed in the houses near the castle, General Guest was obliged, not only to fire upon them, but to march out and burn them to the ground. Thereupon another order for restoring the communication, was, upon the 6th, pasted up at the several gates of the town, and ever since the garrison have been plentifully supplied with every thing they want."

Besides these proclamations, there were several others published in the name of the young Chevalier during his residence as Edinburgh.

One, dated October 8. says, That being informed, that many persons, disabled from joining him, by reason of age, broken constitutions, or otherwise, were heartily disposed to assist him with money, horses, and arms; but had signified that they were at a loss to know to whom they should apply for these purposes; he therefore declared, that persons in such circumstances sending to his Secretary, where-ever he should happen to be, money, arms, and horses, would be considered by him as

a very seasonable and acceptable mark of their loyalty.

Another, dated October 9. forbids all Peers and Commoners to pay obedience to the order summoning them to meet in parliament on the 17th; and all people to pay obedience to any order or resolution that might be published in the name of either or both houses, in case they should meet in consequence of said summons.

A second manifesto was issued in the name of the young Chevalier, dated at Holyroodhouse, October 10. This is said to be a smooth paper, and it is generally acknowledged to be well written. The last paragraph contained an advice, which seemed to be very proper for both parties at that juncture. It was in these words: "Civil wars are ever attended with rancour and ill-will, which party-rage never fails to produce in the minds of those, whom different interests, principles, or views, set in opposition to one another. I therefore earnestly require it of my friends, to give as little loose as possible to such passions. This will prove the most effectual means to prevent the same in the enemies of our royal cause."

There was likewise another declaration superscribed *James R.* besides that mentioned. This was signed for England, and another for Scotland. They were both of the same date, viz. December 23. 1743. But few copies of the declaration for England were given out here. And there were two letters published, of the same date and superscription with the declarations, one to the officers and sailors in the navy, and the other to the officers and soldiers in the army, inviting them to join the pretender. In the declarations, every officer was promised the same or a higher post, than what they at that time enjoyed, and every soldier and sailor, a year's pay as an encouragement.

Besides the two declarations in the name of the pretender, and the two manifestos in the name of his son, there was a paper published in the name of the highland army, intitled *A declaration and admonitory letter.*

Some other proclamations were published, for suppressing thefts and robberies, for preserving the regularity of the army, for levying publick money, &c. The malt-



malt-tax was not uplifted, agreeably to a promise made in the declaration for Scotland,

On the 14th of October, M. Du Boyer, a French person of Quality, arrived at Holyroodhouse, with dispatches from the French court. He was said to have a publick character. Several ships came from the same kingdom with supplies for the highland army; such as, money, artillery, small arms, ammunition, and some officers, engineers, gunners, &c. Two of these ships, arrived at Montrose, the first on the 7th, and the other towards the end of October; and two at Stonehaven, about the middle of that month.

A passage over the Forth to Alloa, was secured, by raising batteries and planting cannon on each side of the river; by which the march of the highlanders from the North, was shortened by three or four days. The loadings of the above ships were likewise brought this way. Before the army marched from Edinburgh, the guard posted to secure this passage withdrew, and carried off their cannon; after which a party from Stirling castle destroyed some boats that had been used by the highlanders.

One Robert Monro, alias Maccowny, who had put on a white cockade, but did not belong to the army, was shot for robbery, on the 16th, as was Daniel Smith, for desertion. on the 17th, both by sentence of a court-martial. They were attended in their last hours by Ministers of the established church.

Notice was sent on the 19th, to the soldiers who had been wounded at the late battle, and had been taken care of in the Royal infirmary, charity-work-house, and other places, that such of them as would vow, not to carry arms against the house of Stuart or their allies before the 1st of January 1747, should get a pass to carry them home to their native countries. 'Tis said, that between 2 and 300 of them accepted of this offer, that others would not accept of it, and that a good many of them had stoln away after they were cured.

On the 23d the Ludlow castle man of war came into Leith road. A few cannon were fired by her or the

Fox at some parties of highlanders posted at Leith and Newhaven; but did little or no damage. Admiral Byng, in the Gloucester, came into the road on the 26th. After the arrival of these ships, the highlanders patrolled for some miles along the sea side every night.

A coach and six, and four men on horseback, of whom the Earl of Dundonald was one, happening to come to the West-port of Edinburgh between eight and nine at night of the 27th, the gate being shut, a call was given by the coachman to open; and 'tis said he added, *to the Prince's friends*, tho' no man belonging to the army was in the company. Whither this was the cause of their suspicion, we know not; but the centinels on duty in the castle alarmed the guard, and thereupon three cannon load with cartridge-shot were fired; by which one Moy, a Glasgow horse-hirer, was killed, a Gentlewoman wounded, the Earl of Dundonald's horse shot under him, and one of the coach-horses wounded. We are assured that the commanders in the castle were very sorry when they came to be informed of their mistake.

On the 30th of October, the King's birthday, about 100 maltmen and other tradesmen's servants, possessed themselves of the church and steeple of Perth, and rang the bells about mid-day. There were no highlanders in Perth at the time, only about a dozen of men mostly workmen in the town, were hired to keep guard. Mr. Oliphant of Gask, who was appointed Deputy-Governor by the Chevalier, sent to desire those who rung the bells, to desist; but they refused to comply, and continued ringing. In the afternoon, Mr. Oliphant, with his small guard, and three or four Gentlemen, posted themselves in the council-house, in order to secure about 400 small arms, ammunition, &c. belonging to the highland army, that were lodged there, and in the tolbooth adjoining. At night seven North-country Gentlemen in the same interest, with their servants, came to town, and immediately joined their friends in the council-house. Mean time the mob made a bonfire or two on the streets; some loyal people illuminated their windows; the mob ordered all the inhabitants to follow their example, broke the

the windows that were not illuminated, and proceeded to some other outrages. About nine o'clock at night, a small party from the council-house marched up the street, to disperse the mob, fired upon and wounded three of them. Upon which they rushed in upon the party, disarmed and wounded most of them, being under a dozen in number. After this the mob placed guards at all the gates of the town, took possession of the main guard, and rung the fire bell once and again, in order to raise the whole town; by which they drew together about 200 people, but none of any note. They run up and down the streets, and even into houses, and insulted those whom they thought to be Jacobites. Before they rang the fire-bell the second time, they sent a message in writing, signed by initials, to Mr. Oliphant, requiring him to withdraw instantly, and yield up the arms, ammunition, &c. to them. This was refused; and thereupon hostilities were begun about two o'clock in the morning, and continued till about five. The mob fired at the council-house from close-heads, from behind stairs, and from windows; so that they in the council-house could not look out but in the utmost hazard. About five o'clock the mob dismissed. An Irish Captain in the French service was killed in the council-house, and three or four wounded. Of the mob four were wounded, of whom George Gorry weaver died in two or three days. A good many of them have fled. Next day about 60 of Lord Nairn's men were brought into the town, and soon after about 130 highlanders.

The highland army, who lay incamped at Duddingston, struck their tents about the middle of October, and were quartered in the neighbourhood.

Before the army marched, a proclamation was issued in the name of the Chevalier, dated October 28. importing, That whereas he was informed that several thefts and robberies had been committed in and about Edinburgh, by villains assuming the character of soldiers in his army, as well as by others; and whereas he was heartily disposed to discourage such practices by all means possible; he therefore promised, that if any effects so



stolen or robbed should be returned in three days after the date, no questions should be asked; but that all persons in whose custody such effects should be afterwards found, would be punished with the utmost rigour. And for the more effectual detecting of robbers, thieves, or refusers, he promised the discoverers 5 l. upon conviction of each offender.

Horses, corn, hay, &c. were taken from several people for the use of the army. Sometimes the persons that made the demand would shew no order, sometimes they did shew an order, and sometimes they gave receipts. They ordered a considerable number of horses and carts to attend them in their march; but promised to dismiss these so soon as they could be provided with other horses, and to pay the servants that attended them 6d. *per day*. A small body of light horse, called hussars, was formed before they marched.

Next day, the last of the highlanders evacuated the city of Edinburgh. Thereupon the city-company took possession of the main guard, armed with cudgels or battons. The rear of the highland army marched from Dalkeith, Southwards, on the 3d of November, the Chevalier on foot, with his target over his shoulder.

When the highland army marched Southward, they left about two dozen of their wounded in the infirmary at Edinburgh; and the promise of one or two Gentlemen in town, of known attachment to the government, was taken, that they should use their interest to prevent any harsh things being done to them. Ballie John Wilson merchant was taken as a hostage for performance. But, after staying one night with the army at Dalkeith, he was permitted to return home next day, November 2. upon some citizens signing a paper to the same purpose with the promise made by the Gentlemen above mentioned. On the 4th, some parties came out of the castle, and searched for arms. Among other places they went to the infirmary; where finding a few arms, they were a little rude to some of the highlanders, and took a few trifles from them. On notice of this, the above Gentlemen ordered a note to be made out, of the loss sustain-

ed by the highlanders, in order to their being reimbursed, and requested General Guest to give strict orders that no injury should be done them for the future; which his Excellency readily complied with.

On their march Southward, the highlanders killed a considerable number of deer belonging to the Marquis of Lothian.

General Blakeney having got notice, that the rear of the men who conducted the arms, &c. from Montrose, were to pass the Forth at Alloa on the 30th of October, dispatched Captain Abercromby from Stirling, with some soldiers and countrymen, to attack them; which they accordingly did, wounded some, took several prisoners, some cows, horses, baggage, arms, money, and letters; all which they carried into Stirling castle that night.

Glengyle, Chief of the clan Macgregor, who was appointed governor of Innersnaid, Down, &c. by the Pretender's son, having gone with a party into Argyleshire, in order to raise men, was attacked by three companies of Loudon's regiment from Inverary, under the command of their Lieutenant-Colonel, John Campbell, Esq; and obliged to retreat, with the loss of two men killed and 18 taken prisoners. Colonel Campbell had one man killed.

On the 5th of November the following proclamation was pasted up in Edinburgh.

GEORGE WADE, Esq;

*Field Marshal of his Majesty's forces, one of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Lieutenant General of the Ordnance, and Colonel of one of his Majesty's regiments of horse, &c. &c. &c.*

**W**HEREAS it has been represented to his Majesty, that several of his subjects, inhabiting the highlands of Scotland, and others, have been seduced by menaces and threatenings of their chiefs and superiors, to take arms, and enter into a most unnatural rebellion; his Majesty has authorised me to assure all such, who shall return to their habitations, on or before the 12th

day of November next, and become faithful to his Majesty and his government, that they shall be objects of his Majesty's clemency: but if, after this his most gracious intention being signified, they continue in their rebellion, they will be proceeded against with rigour suitable to the nature of their crime. Given at the camp at Newcastle upon Tyne, this 30th day of October 1745.

GEORGE WADE.

*By his Excellency's command,*  
THOMAS COCKAYNE.

For some time after the march of the highland army Southwards, the Western roads swarmed with deserters from it.

There was publick worship in several of the churches of Edinburgh on the 3d of November, in all of them on the 10th, and regularly ever after. The synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, and the presbytery of Edinburgh, complimented the commanders in the castle for their vigilance in the late time of danger. Addresses were sent to the King by several ecclesiastical courts, and a letter was published from the presbytery of Dornoch to the Earl of Sutherland, thanking his Lordship for his early appearance in favour of our happy constitution and government, and for sending a good number of his countrymen to be employed against the rebels.

While the rebels were in possession of Edinburgh, the Lord Justice-Clerk, Mr Dundas, Solicitor, and others of his Majesty's servants, had retired to Berwick. After the rebels marched to England, they returned to the city, and resumed the functions of their several posts. The Lord Justice-Clerk and some others of the Lords of Justiciary entered the city on the 12th of November, attended by the Earl of Home and Lord Belhaven, High Sheriffs of the counties of Berwick, and East Lothain, Mr. Alexander Lind Sheriff-depute of Edinburghshire, and a great number of the Gentlemen and others in these counties. At the cross they were met by the Gentlemen lately in the administration, and other inhabitants of distinction.



stiaction. They alighted in the Parliament close, and were saluted by a round of the great guns from the castle; the musick-bells playing the whole time of their procession, and the people joining their loud huzzas. The whole company immediately assembled in the parliament-house, and the Lord Justice-Clerk made them the following speech.

**M**Y brethren and I thought it our duty to our King and country, to you as well as ourselves, to lay hold of the first opportunity providence put in our power (by the departure of the rebel army from this part of the country) to return to this capital, and with your help, Gentlemen, to endeavour to restore and preserve the peace of this city and adjacent country, and, as far as lies in our power, to revive the civil government; and to show to his Majesty and the world, how little accession the South part of Scotland has had to the recent calamities it has felt, and which the government still feels in the most sensible manner.

But, as military force is necessary for protecting this city and country, so long as the open rebellion subsists, we have the pleasure to acquaint you, that Field-Marshal Wade lost no time in ordering a body of troops to march to this city.

As in coming to this place we have been honoured with the company of the High Sheriffs; and you, Gentlemen, we look upon it as a mark of your zeal for the speedy and effectual re-establishment of his Majesty's government; in which, if the present troubles do not very soon subside, your, help Gentlemen, may be of great service: for indeed, while the rebels keep the field, we must, both in city and country, consider ourselves as in a state of war, notwithstanding the present *glimpse* we have of some peace and quiet; so that it is still necessary that provision be made for preventing any future disturbances from the rebels or their associates.

May we therefore presume to recommend it to the heritors of every parish, to make up lists of all the able-bodied men in their respective bounds, proper to be trusted

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ed with arms? in which great assistance may be got from the Reverend Ministers of the established church; who (as they always do) have on this occasion given testimony of their great zeal for his Majesty's government. And we recommend it to the Sheriffs now present, to give notice to the heritors that were absent; and we recommend to them, to deliver these lists to their respective Sheriffs, to be by them transmitted to such person or persons as his Majesty shall appoint for that purpose. The sooner that these lists be made up and transmitted to much securer the present tranquillity will be.

As I have in my eye a great many of the inhabitants of this ancient city, I cannot omit condoling with them on their late dismal situation, and their present want of a regular government. I hope his majesty, in his great goodness, will in due time take their case under his Royal consideration; and that he will soon be convinced of the loyalty and zeal of by far the greatest number of the inhabitants of this city. For arming such, if found necessary and expedient, proper orders are given by Field-Marshal Wade. Mean time, what assistance my brethren or I can give, for preserving the peace of this place, shall not be wanting.

Thus I have endeavoured, so far as I have been able to recollect, to deliver to you, Gentlemen, the united sentiments of my brethren and me on this occasion.

Next day, Lieutenant General Handasyd arrived in town from Berwick, with Price's and Ligonier's regiments of foot, and Hamilton's and Ligonier's (late Gardiner's) regiments of dragoons. All the Foot and Ligonier's dragoon's were quartered within the city, and Hamilton's dragoons in the Canongate, &c. An invitation was sent them, as was said, by some of the eminent citizens. As there were at that time no magistrates, the Constables were in a doubt how they could lawfully billet the troops upon the inhabitants, and therefore obtained a warrant for that purpose from the Lord Justice-clerk, the Lords Minto, Elchies and Drummore, as Justices of the Peace.

A meeting of the subscribers to the fund for raising the Edinburgh regiment was called on the 20th. A considerable number of men had been raised, but dispersed upon the rebels getting possession of the city. By order of this meeting, a new subscription was opened, for completing the full 1000 men, to be under the direction of the commander in chief of the forces in Scotland; and an advertisement was published, inviting the men formerly enlisted to re-enter, and promising a reasonable gratuity to such of them as had shewed an alacrity to march out and fight the rebels. All able bodied men whose loyalty could be attested, were likewise received. They were bound to serve only three month's. Letters were sent to Ministers and well affected Gentlemen to assist in prevailing with proper persons to enlist, and they had good success.

On the 27th the freeholders of the county met at Edinburgh. They were of opinion, that the capital was of such importance, that no means ought to be left untried to preserve it from falling again into the enemy's hands; and therefore ordered letters to be writ to the several Ministers, to be assisting to the heritors, in preparing lists of able-bodied men within their parishes, to be forthwith levied, armed, and to march to the defence of the city if occasion required. The men were to be maintained at the expence of the shire.

The same spirit reigned in other places of the kingdom, especially in the West.—The town of Stirling raised 400 men, and put them under the command of General Blakeney.—The militia of Glasgow and the neighbourhood, amounting to 3000, were reviewed by the Earl of Home, having got arms from Edinburgh. About 300 Seceders appeared likewise in arms. Major General Campbell came to Inverary, with money, arms, ammunition, &c. from England, in order to raise the people of Argyleshire.

After the return of the officers of state. &c. to Edinburgh, the banks resumed their business. The castle-flag was no longer displayed.

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Several persons were committed on suspicion of treason. A Gentleman or two belonging to the high-land army were seized by the country people in the West, and sent in prisoners to Edinburgh; particularly Mr. Spalding of Whitefield going North, and Donald Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart going South. — This last is the Gentleman at whose house the pretender's son lodged, and who was with him for two months before any other joined him. He was sent some time before to Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Laird of Macleod, to prevail upon them to join: but they utterly refused. There was a letter found in his pocket from Mr. Murray, the pretender's son's Secretary, telling him, that in case he did not succeed with Sir Alexander and Macleod, he must be fore to give it out in the country, as he passed along, that they were upon their march to join the pretender's son with 2000 men well armed; that otherwise they could not keep the army they had together, several of the chiefs having declared, that, if those two clans did not join, they would march back again. — This letter is dated at Holyrood-house October 27th the original was lodged with General Guest, and these are the contents. "His Royal Highness has judged it necessary to send your brother Allan to meet you with this letter, to desire you to give it out where-ever you come, that Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Macleods were actually on their march, notwithstanding you may have received contrary information. He likewise desires you may make all haste to come up; when I shall satisfy you how necessary it is to keep these Gentlemen's delay a secret; I am sincerely, &c.

About the middle of November, the Earl of Loudon had a considerable force at Inverness, consisting of part of his own Regiment, the Earl of Southerland's and Lord Rea's people, Monroes, Grants, and 400 Macleods; and having received arms and money by the Saltash sloop of war, his Lordship was preparing to set out to quell the commotions in that neighbourhood, to supply the garrisons with necessaries, and to prevent Lord Lewis Gordon from giving any further disturbance. The

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greatest zeal had been shewn for the support of his Majesty's government by the Lord Fortrose and Sir Alexander Macdonald.

Towards the End of November, Lord John Drummond, with 800 Scots and Irish, in six transports from Dunkirk, Landed at Montrose, Stonehaven and Peterhead. By this reinforcement, the Rebels about Perth, &c. were 3000 strong. The Hazard sloop of war fell into their hands at Montrose, and Captain Hill and the crew were made prisoners. They erected batteries at the mouth of the harbour. — A short while before, Captain Hill had caused burn two Montrose ships in the harbour, for refusing to unnrigg, or on suspicion of their having piloted in some French ships,

Upon advice that the rebels intended to force a passage near Stirling, Lieutenant General Handasyd ordered a considerable force to march thither to oppose them. — The commanders of the castle of Edinburgh were in the mean time laying up quantities of provisions.

There were great complaints of the highlanders from the North. — A letter from Angus said, that Perth, Dundee, and the country round, were one scene of horror and oppression; that robberies were perpetual, many of them in open day, in the publick streets; that in Strathmore they robbed many of the clergy of considerable sums; that the whole parishes in Angus were distressed by pressing men, or a composition of money; that some Gentlemen were assessed in 50 l. some in 100 l. and some in 200 l.; that illuminations were ordered at Dundee on account of the arrival of the French; that the Presbyterian Ministers windows were broke because not illuminated; that they threw stones, and even fired sharp shot into one of them; that when violent attempts were made to break in, the family escaped by a back door; but that the aged Minister, unwilling to quite his house, wrote to one of their commanding officers, of his acquaintance, and got them called off. — This shews, that the loyalty of the people of Perth was ill-timed, as it occasioned inconveniencies to some of his Majesty's best friends,

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by setting an example that gave the rebels a pretext to make reprisals.

The rebels, whose rear left Dalkeith on the 3d of November, marched Southward in three columns; one body of between 4 and 5000, by way of Peebles, Moffat, &c; the middle column, by Lauder, Selkirk, and Hawick; and the Eastermost column of between 3 and 4000, by Kelso. The prender's son arrived at Kelso on the 4th at night. From this place, a message was sent to Wooler, ordering quarters to be provided for 4000 foot and 1000 horse; but notwithstanding, this division crossed Tweed on the 6th, and took the road to Hawick; from thence to Halyhaugh on the 7th, and to Longholm, Cannoby on the Scots side, and Longton. on the 8th. On the 9th they marched towards Rowcliff; where they crossed the river within four miles of Carlisle, and thence pursued their march to Murray's on Brough side: where they lay that night, about four miles Southward of Carlisle. That afternoon, part of the corps which took route by Moffat, with the artillery joined them, and all the rest next day, except about 200, which could not join before the 11th. The whole militia of the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland were in the garrison of Carlisle. Many of the rebels deserted on their march from Edinburgh, particularly at Kelso; and many stragglers, with their arms, were seized, and delivered by the country-people into the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, or to the commanders of his Majesty's ships.

Marshal Wade, on notice of the rebels having moved Southwards, countermanded the orders he had given for the march of his army to Berwick about the 4th, resolving to continue at Newcastle till the designs of the rebels should be more certainly known.

On the 9th about 50 or 60 of the rebels well mounted, and thought to be officers, appeared on Stanwix bank, a hill close by Carlisle. The castle fired upon them; and, after some time, they retreated. At three o'clock afternoon, the Mayor received a message from them, to provide billets for 13,000 men that night; which he refused:



fused: and at night the city was surrounded by about 9000 of them. Next day, a body of them approached the walls, first bending towards the Irish gate, but afterwards marched round to the English gate, in order to reconnoitre the place, as was judged; during which motions they were fired at both from town and castle. At three afternoon, the Mayor received a message in writing addressed, *For the Mayor of Carlisle*, dated, *November 10th two in the afternoon*, and subscribed *Charles P. R.* in the following words.

*Charles Prince of Wales, Regent of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging.*

**B**ING come to recover the King our father's just rights, for which we are arrived with all his authority, we are sorry to find that you should prepare to obstruct our passage. We therefore, to avoid the effusion of English blood, hereby require you to open your gates, and let us enter as we desire, in a peaceable manner; which if you do, we shall take care to preserve you from any insult, and set an example to all England of the exactness with which we intend to fulfil the King our father's declarations and our own. But if you shall refuse us entrance, we are fully resolved to force it by such means as Providence has put into our hands: and then it will not perhaps be in our power to prevent the dreadful consequences which usually attend a town's being taken by assault. Consider seriously of this, and let me have your answer within the space of two hours; for we shall take any further delay as a peremptory refusal, and take our measures accordingly.

To this the Mayor returned no answer, but by firing the cannon upon them. It was supposed they were to make a vigorous attack in the night, the firing continuing till midnight.

On the 11th. the main body of the rebels marched to Brampton, about seven miles East on the road to Newcastle. By ten o'clock that day, the Pretender's son was

at Warwick castle. A body of the rebels, which the garrison took for the rear-guard, appeared the same day upon Stanwix bank; but, the guns firing upon them, they fled in great haste. At night this body took up their quarters at Rickaby, and the villages near it, on the North of the Eden; but, receiving an order to march for Brampton without loss of time, they set out immediately; but were not able to march above a mile and a half that night, their carriage horses having failed them. Some stragglers were brought into Carlisle, and and two carriages laden with biscuit. Upon the 12th, the rebels remained at Brampton, Warwick bridge, and the villages between those two places. They had sixteen field-pieces. On the 13th, a great body of them marched back to Carlisle. They forced four carpenters along, to assist in erecting batteries. A highland Quartermaster (Stuart) taken near Carlisle, was sent to Newcastle to Marshal Wade; but four light horse-men that conducted him, fell into the hands of the rebels in their return. It was said, that at this time the rebels shot at every body that fled from them; that one person was killed by them; that they were putting the country under military execution; and that they seized all able-bodied men, horses and carriages, and declared they would force them to carry their ladders to the walls of Carlisle. The cannon of the town fired upon them very briskly; and on the 14th they approached so near the walls, that the garrison threw granadoes at them. They broke ground about 300 yards from the citadel, and at Spring garden, near the horse race round. On the 15th the town surrendered; which is thus accounted for. For seven days before, neither officers nor common men of the garrison got scarce an hour's rest, being perpetually alarmed by the rebels; and many of them were so sick thro' the great fatigue, that being out of all hopes of a speedy relief, they absolutely refused to hold out any longer; and multitudes went off every hour over the walls, some of which fell into the hands of the rebels, till the officers of many companies were at last left with not above three or four men; so that the

Mayor

and corporation determined to hang out the white flag, (tho' contrary to the opinion and protestation of Colonel Durand, the Commandant), and made the best terms they could get for themselves; the garrison being permitted to go to their respective homes. Thereupon the Colonel was obliged to abandon the castle; the rebels threatening, in case of refusal, to destroy the whole town by fire and sword. By the first accounts of the surrender of the town, it was said, that Colonel Durand was determined to defend the castle to the last extremity, that he had prepared every thing for that purpose, and that it was supposed he would be able to hold out eight days: and the letters from the Colonel himself in a day or two after, bore, That, before the surrender of the place, he had time to nail up ten pieces of the caunon on the ramparts, from four to two pounds; that he had prevailed upon 400 men (besides the two companies of invalids) to join with him in defending the castle; but that before eight the next morning they had changed their resolution, and had all left him to a man; so that, upon calling a council of war, consisting of the officers of the invalids, it was unanimously agreed, that, with the small force remaining under his orders, which did not exceed 80 men, many of them extremely infirm, it was not possible to defend the castle.

Here we will leave the *Gazette* a little, and give some other accounts of the surrender of this place.

One said to be an eye-witness gives the following account. "On Saturday the 9th, about three o'clock afternoon, a body of the rebels appeared at Stanwix bank, within a quarter of a mile of Carlisle; and, it being the market day there, they mixed with the country people returning home; so that it was not possible for the garrison to fire upon them for some time, without risk of injuring their neighbours along with their enemies. But, in less than half an hour, the country-people dispersed themselves; and then the garrison of the castle fired a ten-gun battery upon them; which it is believed killed several. Then, night coming on, they retreated to a greater distance from the city, and the garrison stood all the



night under arms. At two in the morning a thick fog came on, which remained till twelve that day, when it cleared up about an hour; and then the garrison discovered the rebels approaching to attack the city in three several parties, viz. one at Stanwix bank, commanded by the Duke of Perth; a second at Shading gate lane, commanded by the Marquis of Tullibardine, who also had the artillery; and the third in Black-well-fields, where the Pretender commanded the rest of their body, facing the English gate. Upon discovering these three parties approaching so near to the city, the garrison fired upon them, viz. the four-gun battery upon the Marquis of Tullibardine; who was heard to say, *Gentlemen, we have not metal for them; retreat;* which they immediately did, and disappeared. The turret guns and the citadel-guns were fired upon the Pretender's division; where the white flag was displayed; which was seen to all. About the same time the ten-gun battery was fired upon the Duke of Perth's division; who also retired. Then the thick fog struck in again, and all the inhabitants of the city expected nothing but a general assault would be made by the rebels: against which the walls were well lined with men; and Sir John Pennington, Doctor Waugh, Chancellor, Humphrey Senhouse, Joseph Daire Ealstan of Acran bank, Esqs. with several other Gentlemen of note, stood all night under arms, to encourage and assist them. The militia was also drawn up at the foot of Castle-street, to be ready, in case of a forcible attack, to relieve and reinforce the men upon the walls. On Monday morning, the fog still continuing thick, the garrison could not observe the situation of the rebels; but heard their pipers playing not far from the English gate. About ten o'clock, a man was let down from the city-walls, to reconnoitre the enemy; and he found they had retired to Warwick bridge. Afternoon other spies were likewise dispatched, to observe their motions; and discovered a great number about Warwick bridge: but the Pretender, with his guard and attendants, were advanced to Brampton; where they lodged that night. On Tuesday they lay idle from all action, except feats of rapine

rapine and plunder; for they spent the day in hunting and destroying the sheep of Lord Carlisle's tenants, and bearing off the country-people's geese and other poultry. They also seized upon all the horses they could lay hands on, without any question relating to *value* or *property*; notwithstanding they declare the design of their expedition is to redress grievances, and correct abuses. Tuesday night the rebels slept quietly with full bellies. On Wednesday morning, about ten o'clock, they displayed the white flag at Warwick-bridge end; to which they were about three hours in repairing. About one o'clock, the young Pretender, attended by Lord George Murray, the Duke of Perth, and several others, besides those called his guards, came to them. Upon which they formed themselves, and began to march again to Carlisle, in the following order: First, two, (named hussars), in highland dress, and high rough read caps, like pioneers; next, about half a dozen of the chief leaders, followed by a kettledrum; then, the Pretender's son, at the head of about 110 horse, called his guards, two and two abreast; after these, a confused multitude of all sorts of mean people, to the number (as was supposed) of about 6000. In this order they advanced to the height of Warwick-muir; where they halted about half an hour, and took an attentive view of the city. From thence the foot took the lead, and so they marched to Carlisle about three in the afternoon; when they began a fresh assault, and the city renewed their fire.—On Thursday it was discovered, that the rebels had thrown up a trench which intimidated the town; and in a consultation it was resolved to capitulate: a deputation was sent to the Pretender, at Brampton, and the town and castle were delivered up on Friday morning."

A letter dated at Kendal, November 18. says, "An officer in our militia, who is a man of fortune and good credit, declares, that Carlisle merits no greater honour by its surrender to the rebels than Edinburgh did. The garrison wholly consisted of the Cumberland and Westmoreland militia, together with a few volunteers, and two imperfect companies of invalids. There were be-

sides some independent companies of the town, who would not assist the said garrison with more than two or three men out of a company; so that they were obliged to be upon duty, and the week before one half relieved the other alternately. The militia were also put to several other great hardships; many of the inhabitants making them pay an exorbitant price for provisions; and they could not, for any money, procure a sufficient quantity of straw to lie upon on the walls. Captain Wilson (son of Daniel Wilson, Esq; member for Westmoreland) paid 30 s. for the use of a cobbler's stall under the walls. Upon the first approach of the rebels, the garrison gave out that themselves were 3000 strong; upon which the rebels durst not attempt the city immediately, but went forward towards Brampton; from whence they returned on the 13th. The garrison kept continually firing upon them, till they were obliged, on the 14th, by the manager in the town, to desist, and come off from the walls; and continued so all that night: during which time it was supposed the terms of capitulation were settled. Next morning they observed that the rebels had intrenched themselves before the town; upon which the garrison renewed their fire with great spirit and bravery; but soon received orders again to desist, for the capitulation was agreed upon. The Duke of Perth, with his division, were the first of the rebels that entered Carlisle the pretender being then six miles from the city. They made the garrison swear never to appear in arms any more against them; and Perth, shaking the men by the hands, told them they were brave fellows, and offered them great sums to enlist with him. The rebels took above 200 good horses, and all the arms from the militia besides 1000 stand lodged in the castle. They also found a rich booty in the castle; the people of the country round about having brought thither, for safety, the most valuable of their effects. The town capitulated on the 14th, in the evening; and on the 15th, at ten o'clock in the morning, it was given up. About one in the afternoon the rebels entered the city, and the next morning the castle was surrendered to them. Several of the militia



militia endeavoured to escape, without being obliged to take the oath; as also did some of Cope's men, who had deserted from the rebels; one of which they threatened should be shot, as an example to deter others."

The account in the *Caledonian Mercury* was thus. "The trenches were opened before Carlisle on Wednesday the 13th in the evening, and were conducted under the direction of Mr. Grant, Chief Engineer, (whose skill is very much extolled), with such success, that on Friday morning the batteries were erected within 40 fathoms of the walls. All that time the cannon and small arms from both city and castle played most furiously; but with no loss to the besiegers, other than of a French gunner and a private man killed. The Duke of Perth and the Marquis of Tullibardine wrought at the trenches in their shirts, tho' the weather was so excessively cold, that none of the army, but the highlanders, who were accustomed by their climate, could easily endure it. On Friday, when the cannon began to play, and the scaling-ladders were brought forward in order to an assault, a white flag was hung out, and the city offered to surrender upon terms for themselves. On this an express was sent to the Chevalier, who was at Brampton with a great part of the army, in order to oppose Marshal Wade, in case he should advance with design to raise the siege. He answered, That he would not do things by halves, and that the city had no terms to expect unless the castle surrendered at the same time. When this answer was reported, Colonel Durand consented to surrender the castle also. The terms were, That the town and castle, with the artillery and magazines, should be delivered up: that the men should lay down their arms in the market-place, after which they should have passes to go where they pleased, upon taking an oath, not to carry arms against the house of Stuart for a twelvemonth; that the city of Carlisle should retain its privileges; that they should deliver up all arms, &c. and also the horses of such as had appeared in arms against the Pretender; and that all the deserters particularly the soldiers inlist-  
ed

with the highlanders after the late battle, who had fled to Carlisle, should be delivered up. On Friday afternoon the Duke of Perth took possession of the place in the Pretender's name, and next day they proclaimed his and his son's manifesto's, &c. attended by the Mayor and other Majestrates, with the sword and mace carried before them. They found in the castle and city a great number of cannon, about fifteen coehorn mortars, a great quantity of cannon balls, granadoes, small bombs, pickaxes, and other military stores; likewise many of the broad swords that were taken at Preston in 1715, and about 100 barrels of gun-powder. It was said, that all the plate and valuable effects lodged in the castle for security, were ordered to be delivered to the owners."

According to the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, the Mayor and Aldermen were, by the capitulation, obliged to assist at the ceremony of reading the declarations, &c. It was observed, that, the day before the rebels returned from Brampton, the Mayor wrote to Lord Lonsdale, Lord Lieutenant of the county, that he had done more than Edinburgh, and even all Scotland. This indeed, adds the news-writer, proved true, by his surrender of a strong and important fortress; which was what the rebels never got possession of in Edinburgh, nor in all Scotland.—Some accounts said, there was not a gun fired against the place.

About 30 cart-load of baggage belonging to the highland army was left at Lockerby, for want of horses. The party that guarded it, either from an eagerness to assist at the siege of Carlisle, or for fear of being overpowered by about 1000 country-people, from about Dumfries, headed by four Gentlemen of distinction, who were advancing to attack them, marched off for Carlisle, leaving the baggage; which was thereupon seized upon the 14th. After the surrender of Carlisle, a party, under the command of Lochiel, were ordered back to Dumfries, to reclaim the baggage, or 2000 l. in its stead, from that town. But, before they reached the

the place, they were recalled, to join the army.—  
We now return to the *Gazette*.

When the news of the rebels returned to Brampton, in order to make an attempt upon Carlisle, reached Marshal Wade at Newcastle, where the army was incamped, his Excellency called a council of war, in which it was determined to march to the relief of that place, and to give battle to the rebels. The army accordingly moved on the 16th, by Ovingham, and arrived at Hexham on the 17th at midnight. Here receiving advice, as well of the surrender of Carlisle, as of the advance of the rebels to Penrith; and finding the roads, thro' the great quantity of snow that had fallen, in a manner impassable, it was resolved, in a council of war, to march the army back immediately to Newcastle; where they accordingly arrived on the 22d, and were lodged in the publick halls, glass-houses, malt-houses, and other empty buildings.

About the 16th, the King ordered a body of troops, consisting of three regiments of horse, two of dragoons, and fifteen of foot, to march forthwith towards Lancashire, under the command of Lieutenant General Sir Joha Ligonier; and his Excellency set out from London on the 21st. Two battalions of foot-guards set forward to join them on the 23d, and the Duke of Cumberland was appointed to take upon him the command. A third battalion of the foot-guards and Cobham's dragoons got orders to march about the 26th, in order likewise to join them; and his Royal Highness set out from St. James's that day, to put himself on their head.

The rebels left a garrison in the castle of Carlisle, of about 100 men. A small body of their horse entered Penrith on the 18th, and the rest of the army on the three days following. Before the arrival of the rear, the van had marched by the Lancashire road. About 120 of their horse came to Kendal on the 21st; as did, next day, the Pretender's son with his household, at the head of a regiment of foot. It was said, that, by the best reckoning that could be made at Emont and Fallowfield bridge, the whole of their army did not exceed  
7000



7000 men; that the body of regular horse was very inconsiderable; that there were not above 30 hussars; besides those that marched with the vanguard the day before to Kendal; that their baggage-waggons, which were about twenty in number, were very slenderly guarded, some of which were drawn by three, and others by two horses; and that they talked of great numbers to join them from Scotland. The van of their army arrived at Lancaster on the 24th. Six highland Quartermasters came into Preston on the 26th, to provide quarters for their army, which was to rendezvous on Prestonmuir next day. Some of them were at Warrington, and the main body at Wigan and Leigh on the 28th. That afternoon, a party came into Manchester, beat up for volunteers for the Pretender, enlisted several Papists and nonjurors, offering five guineas a man to any that would enter. Those who took the money, had white cockades given them, and marched about the town with the drum and the Serjeant. This party ordered quarters to be prepared for 10,000 men, who were to come thither the next day. Upon the 29th the main body moved towards Manchester. A party of them arrived there at ten before noon. By their order the bellman went round the town, to give notice to all persons belonging to the excise, innkeepers, &c. forthwith to bring their last acquittances and rolls, and all the ready cash they had in their hands belonging to the government, on pain of military execution. About two in the afternoon, another party arrived there, with the Pretender's son, who marched on foot, in a highland dress, surrounded by a body of highlanders. The bellman went round the town again, to order the houses to be illuminated. They had sixteen pieces of cannon, great numbers of covered wagons, and near 100 horses laden. They proclaimed the Pretender in all the market towns they passed.

On the night of the 25th, about 200 disorderly persons near Ormskirk, assembled in that town with a drum, beating up for volunteers to enter into the Pretender's service, and openly in the night proclaimed him King. The townspeople thereupon rose up and fought them,  
took

took and imprisoned ten or twelve, and dispersed the rest.

The Duke arrived at Litchfield on the 27th. On the 28th, the troops under his Royal Highness's command, then arrived, were cantoned from Tamworth to Stafford, with the cavalry in front at Newcastle under Line.

Marshall Wade, on hearing the news of the motions of the rebels, called a council of war at Newcastle, in which it was resolved to march the whole army Southward on Sunday the 24th, in pursuit of them. His Excellency with the army were incamped on the 28th at Persbridge, and were to march through Yorkshire into Lancashire.

On the 4th of November arrived in the river, from Flanders, the regiments of foot commanded by Lieutenant General Handasyd, Major General Campbell and Skelton, Brigadier Bligh, Mordaunt, and Lord John Murray.

The Noblemen who commanded the new regiments were these. Horse, the Dukes of Montagu and Kingston. Foot, the Dukes of Bolton, Bedford, Montagu, and Ancafter; the Marquis of Granby; the Earls of Berkeley, Cholmondeley, and Halifax; the Viscounts Falmoutuh and Harcourt; and the Lords Gower, Edgumbe, and Herbert of Cherbury.

Sir William Yonge, by the King's command, thanked the Lord Mayor and several citizens for their contribution of blankets, watch-coats, and other necessities for the soldiers. The Quakers, in particular, gave 10,000 woollen waist-coats; and his Majesty out of his privy purse gave them shoes.

About the middle of November we had the following lists in the London papers.

*A list of the Pretender's officers and troops.*

<i>Regiments.</i>	<i>Colonels.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
Lochael	Cameron of Lochael	740
Appin	Stewart of Ardsheel	360
Athol	Lord George Murray	1000
Clanronald	Clanronald of Clanronald junior	200
Keppoch	Macdonald of Keppoch	400
Glenco	Macdonald of Glenco	200
Ogilvie	Lord Ogilvie	500
Glenbucket	Gordon of Glenbucket	427
Perth	Duke of Perth (and Pitligo's foot)	750
Robertson	Robertson of Strowan	200
Maclachlan	Maclachlan of Maclachlan	260
Glencarnick	Macgregor	300
Glengary	Macdonald of Glengary junior	300
Nairn	Lord Nairn	200
Edinburgh	John Roy Stuart (and Lord Kelly's)	450
	In several small corps	1000
	Horse { Lord Elcho	160
	{ Lord Kilmarnock	
	Lord Pitligo's horse	140
		<hr/> 7587

*A list of the forces and Commanders which marched down towards Lancashire.*

Sir John Ligonier, Commander in chief under the Duke of Cumberland.

Lieutenant Generals, Richmond and St. Clair.

Major Generals, Skelton and Bland.

Brigadiers, Sempill, Bilgh, and Douglas.

Artillery, Leslie, Barnard and Roper, Brigade Majors, 30 pieces of cannon 6 and 3 pounders.

Old foot, Howard, Major General of the foot, Sowle, Johnson, Douglas, Sempill, Bligh, and Skelton.

Bland's dragoons; and 'tis supposed four troops of Ligonier's horse.

New foot, Gower, Montagu, Halifax, Granby, and Cholmondeley.

New horse, Montagu and Kingston,

Amounting



Amounting to 8250 foot and 2200 horse, besides Cobhams dragoons and three battalions of foot-guards ordered afterwards.

Royal proclamations were issued, dated November 7. commanding the 18th of December to be observed as a fast both in England and Scotland, in order to deprecate deserved judgments, and to implore a blessing on his Majesty's arms, for restoring and perpetuating peace, safety, and prosperity to these kingdoms.

One Gordon a Romish Priest was taken into custody on the 9th and his papers seized; by which it appeared that many thousand pounds had been transmitted through his hands to the rebels. George Lockhart of Carnwath, Esq; who was taken up at Berwick, was brought to town on the 1st. Sir John Cope and Brigadier Fowke arrived the same day.

A messenger was sent by the Lords to the Commons on the 6th, desiring a conference with them next day, at three o'clock, in the Painted Chamber, touching certain treasonable declarations and printed papers published and dispersed about the kingdom, by the pretender, and his eldest son: and accordingly, next day, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in parliament assembled, came to the following resolutions, *viz.*

1. " That the two printed papers respectively signed *James R.* and dated at Rome December 23. 1743, and the four printed papers signed *Charles P. R.* dated respectively May 16. August 22. and October 9. and 10. 1745, are false, scandalous, and treasonable libels; intended to poison the minds of his Majesty's subjects; contain the most malicious, audacious, and wicked incitements to them to commit the most abominable treasons; groundless and infamous calumnies and indignities against the government, crown, and sacred person of his Most Excellent Majesty King George II. our only rightful and undoubted sovereign; and seditious and presumptuous declarations against the constitution of this united kingdom; representing the high court of parliament, now legally assembled, by his Majesty's authority

as an unlawful assembly, and all the acts of parliament passed since the late happy revolution, as null and void; and that the said printed papers are full of the utmost arrogance and insolent affronts to the honour of the British nation, in supposing, that his Majesty's subjects are capable of being imposed upon, seduced or terrified, by false and opprobrious invectives, insidious promises, or vain and impotent menaces, or of being deluded to exchange the free enjoyment of their rights and liberties, as well civil as religious, under the well established government of a Protestant prince for Popery and slavery, under a Popish bigoted Pretender, long since excluded by the wisest laws made to secure our excellent constitution, and abjured by the most solemn oaths.

2. " That, in abhorrence and detestation of such vile and treasonable practices, the said several printed papers be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, at the Royal Exchange in London, on Tuesday the 12th day of this instant November, at one of the clock in the afternoon; and that the Sherriffs of London do then attend, and cause the same to be burnt there accordingly. — The papers were burnt, agreeably to this resolution, amidst the repeated acclamations of a prodigious number of people.

The motions of the several armies, according to the *London Gazette*, were as follows.

On the 29th of November, the main body of the rebels arrived at Manchester. Next day, about 200 of them came to a pass three miles from that town, leading to Knotsford, and, having made a sort of bridge over the river, by filling it with trees, advanced to Altringham. The same day, 55 crossed the river at Glate ford, to Cheadle, two miles from Stockport, and returned directly after to Manchester by Sheadle ford. In the afternoon, 10 of them crossed the ford at Stockport, staid their about half an hour, gave out that they would bring a large body of forces to Stockport that night, and that they had enlisted great numbers of men at Manchester; to which place they returned. The same day, 200 of them were at Warrington; two of whom,

whom, - who had crossed the river, were seized by the Liverpool soldiers, hand-cuffed, and sent to Chester.

Several parties of the rebels crossed the Mersey at different places upon the 30th at night, and early in the morning of the 1st of December, and marched by different routs towards Macclesfield. The horse and artillery passed at Cheaple ford. The bridges were made of trees (chiefly poplars) felled for that purpose, and planks laid across; and all the country-people that could be found, were compelled to assist them in it. They pressed, or rather took away all the horses they could meet with about Manchester, before they crossed the Mersey, and obliged several Gentlemen who had sent their horses out of the way, to send for them back. By break of day, upon the 1st, a party of horse came to Altringham, bespoke quarters for a body of foot, (which arrived there about ten), and then set out for Macclesfield with a guide. The party which lay at Altringham were very solicitous to know what number of the King's forces there was at Knotsford. At eleven o'clock about 100 horse came into Macclesfield, and ordered the bellman to prepare quarters for 5000 men; who came in there about two o'clock, with the artillery, and the Pretender's son; who lay there that night. The vanguard, which consisted of about 200 men, and which had orders to be in readiness to march at eleven at night, was quartered at Broken Cross on the Congleton side of Macclesfield. All that evening they were very busy scaling their pieces, firing them, and putting them into order. They gave out that they would call at Knotsford; and that they did not, seems to be owing to their having heard, that there were 2000 of the King's troops in that place. In the middle of the night 40 of them were at Backley hill in pursuit of two deserters.

The party which lay at Altringham, marched early on the second towards Macclesfield; from which place about 2000 foot passed by Gawsword at ten. 2000 horse and and foot came into Congleton between three and four in the afternoon. About 30 were detached to Ashbury, two or three miles on the Newcastle side of Congleton



gleton. Their horses were very small, lean, and of different colours.

On the 3d, a party of the rebels were at Ashburn, fifteen miles from Derby, and the remainder at Leek. The former demanded billets for 3000 men.

Early in the morning of the 4th, the rebels marched from Ashburn for Derby. They appeared to be a good deal fatigued, their march the Day before having been a very great one. About noon the Pretender's son entered Derby, with 450 horse and 2300 foot. The army continued going into that town till late at night. They marched in such a manner as to make their numbers appear as great as possible, and to render it extremely difficult to take an exact account of them. They gave out that they would march on the 5th to Liecester; but they continued at Derby all that day, with their artillery in the market place. Some of them talked as if they would make a sudden march in order to slip the Duke of Cumberland's army; whilst others said, that they would see whether the Duke would come and give them battle. They levied the excise here.

The Duke's army were cantoned, on the 28th of November, from Tamworth to Stafford, with the cavalry in front at Newcastle under Line. On the 2d of December, the Duke, then at Stafford, received advice from Newcastle, that a large body of the rebels were at Congleton, within nine miles of that place; and that their whole army, with all their artillery and baggage, was to be there that night. His Royal Highness had before ordered the cavalry at Newcastle to be alert, and two battalions of infantry, which were likewise posted there, to retire to Stone, six miles nearer Stafford, in case of the enemy's approach. About eleven o'clock of the 2d, the Duke, with the three battalions of guards, marched from Stafford for Stone; at which place the army, consisting of eleven old battalions of foot, and six regiments of horse and drogoons, were assembled at four next morning. Upon positive advices of the rebels marching by Congleton towards North-Wales, the Duke's vanguard made a motion towards Newcastle.

Newcastle. But, upon receiving other advices, that the rebels were gone for Leek and Ashburn, it was resolved to march the army as soon as possible to Northampton, in order to intercept them in their march towards the South. Accordingly the Duke's army returned to Stafford on the 4th, and to Litchfield on the 5th. Here receiving advice, that the rebels had taken possession of Swarkston bridge (*but they did not come within a mile of it*) before the orders for breaking it down could be put in execution, it was resolved to incamp the 6th on Meriden common, between Colehill and Coventry, and next day near Northampton; by which means the army would be again before the rebels. The men, who had been a good deal harassed, bore the fatigue with great cheerfulness, and seemed to have no other wish than to come to an engagement with the rebels. Pursuant to this resolution, the whole cavalry, with two battalions of foot, marched into Coventry on the 6th, and the rest of the infantry incamped on Meriden common. The flannel waistcoats for the troops were by this time arrived at Coventry.

The army under the command of Marshal Wade were, incamped at Persbridge on the 28th of November. The next accounts of them were of the 5th of December. They were then incamped at Wetherby. Here receiving advice of the march of the rebels into Derbyshire, the Marshal directed the cavalry to begin their march towards Doncaster on the 5th, however, they staid at Wetherby, to receive their bread from Leeds, and their shoes, stockings, and flannel waistcoats from London, which came to them at that place. The whole army were to be at Doncaster on the 7th.

Early on the 6th, several parties of the highland horse were in motion in the road about Derby. Some of them seemed to be moving towards Loughborough; others kept on the Ashburn side. At ten the whole returned to Derby, and then the army set out for Ashburn. The horse moved first; soon after passed their artillery, consisting of thirteen pieces of cannon; and then their main body of foot. When about a mile from Derby,

by, they halted, and sent eleven or twelve officers back thither. These ordered a great sum of money to be raised instantly for the use of their army: which they carried off with them, and threatened destruction to the whole town if they did not raise more. They seemed to be extremely out of humour, and stripped some persons of their cloaths, &c.

Letters from Derby, dated December 8. said, that the rebels behaved tolerably well in their march Southwards, but plundered the country in their retreat; that many of the best houses there had suffered; that two of the rebels were taken with their arms between Ashburn and Derby, by a farmer and two boys, and sent to the camp at Meriden common; that tho' they demanded billets at Derby for 10,000 men, those who computed their numbers as exactly as possible assured that they did not exceed 6300, horse and foot, including many old men, and boys of fifteen or sixteen years of age, without shoes or stockings; and that their horses were extremely jaded, and in a bad condition.

From Ashburn they marched to Leek on the 7th. It was then thought their route was for Wales. Before they left Ashburn, they shot two men, one of whom died on the spot. They took all the horses they could lay their hands on, and plundered and did great damage. they had here fifteen pieces of cannon and one mortar. On the 8th they marched to Macclesfield. Their vanguard reached Manchester that day. Some small parties of them raised alarms at Newcastle.

The Duke's army, as above observed, incamped on Meriden common; and were to have marched thence to Northampton. But several concurrent accounts arriving at the camp on the 6th, with advice that the rebels left Derby that morning, and marched towards Ashburn, his Royal Highness, on the 8th, put himself at the head of all the horse and dragoons, and 1000 volunteers, to endeavour to stop them, and give the foot time to come up. Next morning, Sir John Ligonier, with the brigade of guards and Sempill's regiment, marched from Meriden for Litchfield; where his Royal Highness was that



that day, with all the cavalry, and a body of foot mounted, preparing to continue his march in pursuit of the rebels.

The horse and dragoons of Marshal Wade's army were in Doncaster on the 8th, and the foot at Ferrybridge.

Mean time the rebels continued their march Northwards. They were at Manchester on the 9th. Next morning their foot and baggage passed by Pendleton Pole, a mile from Manchester, and took the road to Leigh, Wigan, and Preston. Their horse followed the same day. On the 11th they came to Preston, and halted there the 12th.

Late on the 10th, the Duke, with two regiments of dragoons, arrived at Macclesfield, having marched thither from Litchfield in two days, thro' terrible roads (*by Uttoxeter and Cheadle*). The 1000 foot were but an hour's march behind, (*having been provided of horses by the Gentlemen of Staffordshire*), and the Duke of Richmond was expected next evening with the remainder of the cavalry. On the arrival of the Duke's advanced guard with the Quartermasters at Macclesfield, the rebels had quitted Manchester with the utmost hurry and confusion, and gone towards Wigan. His Royal Highness sent an order by express to the magistrates of Manchester, to enjoin them to seize all stragglers of the rebel army, or such as had abetted them, and to keep them in custody till further orders; and early on the 11th he sent on Major Wheatly with a body of dragoons. Orders were sent on the tenth at night to Bligh's battalion (*then at Chester*) to march to Macclesfield, and to the Liverpool battalion to take post at Warrington. The greatest zeal and affection were expressed upon the arrival of the King's troops in these parts. Excepting at Manchester, where the rebels were joined by about 60 persons, they met with no success in their expedition. Fifteen or sixteen stragglers were picked up about this time, and sent to different jails.

In a council of war, held by Marshal Wade at Ferrybridge on the 8th, it was resolved, that the army should march

march by the way of Wakefield and Halifax into Lancashire, in order to intercept the return of the rebels Northwards. But, upon their arrival at the first mentioned place upon the 10th at night, advice having been received, that the main body of the rebels was then at Manchester and their advanced guard went towards Wigan, on their way to Preston, by which they got three or four days march of the Marshal's army, it was resolved to send Major General Oglethorpe with a detachment of cavalry to pursue them, with all possible expedition, and to march the rest of the army towards Newcastle, both to begin their march on the 11th.

The Duke received intelligence at Macclesfield on the 12th, that General Oglethorpe with his cavalry would be that day at Wigan; and being at the same time informed, by several advices from Lancashire, that the rebels were continuing their flight in the utmost disorder and confusion, and with such a panick, that many of them threw away their arms upon the road, his Royal Highness thereupon resolved to pursue them with all possible expedition. He proposed to be at Wigan with his whole cavalry on the 13th; and hoped, as the rebels had been forced to halt the 12th at Preston, to be able to come up with them in two or three days march. There were letters which mentioned, that for three days about that time the country-people had some smart skirmishes with the rebels, and destroyed several of them.

At nine o'clock of the 13th, the rebels marched out of Preston for Lancaster. The same day the Duke of Perth, with about 150 horse, left the army at the place last mentioned, and took the road towards Carlisle, giving out that he was going to fetch a reinforcement. Notice thereof was sent to all the towns thro' which he passed, and it was hoped the country-people would intercept him. About 20 rebel stragglers were picked up in different places.

The Duke arrived at Wigan from Macclesfield on the 13th at night.

At one o'clock of the 13th the Georgia rangers entered Preston, (the rebels having been gone about four hours

hours before), and soon after a Party of the Duke of Kingston's horse, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Mor-daunt, and the Captains Lord Robert Manners and Lord Byron. The same day General Oglethorpe entered that town likewise, with a detachment from the Duke of Montagu's and Marshal Wade's regiments of horse, commanded by Major Otway, and St. George's regiment of dragoons, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Arabin. These troops marched from Doncaster without a halt, and in three days made above 100 measured miles over snow and ice. They took a Captain of the rebel-army, named Mackenzie, and two men prisoners. As soon as General Oglethorpe arrived, he detached the rangers after the rebels; and next morning, the 14th, was himself at Garstang, with his cavalry; intending to advance that night with his whole corps, so as to post his regulars on Elhib muir, which begins about three miles South of Lancaster, and extends beyond that town Northward, and to detach his irregulars in small parties, supported by parties of the regulars, with orders to attack any parties of the rebels which they might fall in with. If the rebels marched off, General Oglethorpe was to pursue them, and fall upon their rear; giving notice immediately to Major Wheatly, who was posted at Garstang with a considerable body of dragoons to support him, and the Major was to be supported by the troops from Preston. The Liverpool companies were ordered to march from Warrington, and were to arrive at Preston on the 16th.

On the 14th, at eight at night, the rebels began to march out of Lancaster in a very great hurry. The baggage preceded. They were marching out in different bodies all night. The last of them left the town at eight in the morning of the 15th. They took the road to Kendal.

General Oglethorpe hereupon got orders to push beyond Lancaster. The Duke with the whole corps, proposed to be there and Brigadier Bligh at Preston on the 16th. Lord Sempill, with the two regiments, of Scots fusileers, was to follow with the utmost expedition.

Some



Some prisoners made the number of the rebels amount to 8000, including women and boys; and said, that amongst them there were about 2000 clans, well armed, with guns and broad swords; that the rest consisted chiefly of Athol-men and lowlanders, and were but indifferently armed; that they had fifteen pieces of cannon of three or four pounders; that one Sullivan formerly in the French service, had the charge of their artillery; that from their first entering England, till they came to Derby, they seemed resolved upon marching directly to London; but that at Derby, having heard how the Duke of Cumberland's army was posted, it was resolved in a council of war, to return by Carlisle into Scotland; that there was a person with them, who stiled himself the French Ambassador; and that great numbers of the men had often declared, that, if they could get back into Scotland, they would leave the army, and return to their respective abodes.

In obedience to a letter sent by the Duke to the Deputy-Lieutenants of Westmoreland and Cumberland, requiring them by all means, to retard and obstruct the march of the rebels through those two counties, a resolution was taken at Appleby on the 14th, to raise part of the country, in order to demolish Wastal bridge, to make the road from Kendal to Shap impassable for the rebels Artillery or any wheel-carriages, and to break up the road down Graridge-hawse; whereby it was hoped their march might be so retarded, as to give time to the Duke's army to come up with them before they could get clear of those counties.

About ten o'clock on the 14th, the van guard of the rebels, consisting of 110 horsemen, equipped and accoutred like hussars, among whom was the Duke of Perth, entered Kendal, with a chaise, in which was a person in women's dress. They rode up the town quietly, and turned through the fishmarket, down to the bridge leading to Penrith. When they were almost got out of the town, a gun was fired out of a house, and one of the rebels killed: whereupon the townspeople closed in, and took two more prisoners. The rest galloped

loped on towards the bridge; where a halt was made on a sudden, and a few muskets discharged at the people; by which an hostler and a shoe maker were killed on the spot. They then made a general volley, but without doing any more mischief, and after that pursued their way as fast as they could towards Shap. Their horses seemed to be very much harrassed and jaded.

After dinner on the 15th, a party of the rebel horse came into Kendal, amongst whom was their commissary. An hour after they were followed by the rest, horse and foot, who continued coming in till after it was dark. Their artillery, consisting of twelve or thirteen small pieces, was about the middle of the corps, with several covered carts.

The Duke of Perth after the scuffle at Kendal, proceeded on to Shap, and intended for Penrith. But seeing the beacons on fire, and hearing this was done to call in the country, he sent a small party to the Round Table, which is a Mile South of Penrith, and five from Shap, to make inquiry; and finding it true, he returned for safety to Kendal about two in the morning of the 16th. Between four and five the drums began to beat, and the men marched out from day-break till near ten, in the same order as they entered, Lord George Murray being with the last company; but not being able to reach Penrith, as they intended, they were forced to lie at Shap. On the night of the 15th mischief was apprehended at Kendal; but the magistrates pacified the heads of the rebels in some measure. Next morning, however, after the alarm, they behaved very rudely, and exacted a sum of money. The last of them plundered some houses for liquors, stripped those they met of their shoes, and attempted to fire a house.

On the 17th, the Duke was at Lancaster. General Oglethorpe, with the avant-guard, was to be that day at Shap, and the rest of his Royal Highness's forces were to rest that night at Kendal.

General Anstruther was ordered to set out from Coventry for London on the 15th, with the first division of the

the foot, consisting of Sowle's and Skelton's regiments; and the other regiments were to follow successively.

Marshall Wade was on the 15th at Rippon. It was resolved to march his army; then incamped at Borough-bridge, in several divisions, by reason of the inclemency of the Season and to put them under cover every night, till they should arrive at or near Newcastle. In pursuance of which, 1000 detached English foot were to march upon the 15th by Northallerton, Darlington and Durham, to Newcastle; and were to be followed successively by the rest of the army.

Mean time the Duke continued to pursue the rebels with all expedition. He came up with them on the 18th at night with his cavalry, after a ten hours march, to the North of Louthershall; which the rebels abandoned on the approach of the King's troops, and threw themselves into a village called Clifton, within three miles of Penrith; which village his Royal Highness immediately attacked with the dragoons dismounted; who behaved extremely well, and drove the rebels out of it in an hour's time, tho' a very strong and defensible post. By the first account of this action, dated in the morning of the 19th, it was said, that the loss of the rebels could not be known, as it was quite dark before the skirmish was over; that that of the King's forces amounted to about 40 men killed and wounded, but not mortally, viz. Colonel Honeywood, Captain East, and the Cornets Owen and Hamilton; and that a Captain of the rebels, Hamilton, was taken prisoner, much wounded. Next account, dated at Penrith on the 20th, said, that the rebels having carried off their killed and wounded, it was not possible to ascertain their loss; that, after the affair, 70 of their people were taken prisoners; that of the King's forces, his Majesty's own regiment of dragoons suffered most, some officers of which being wounded, the rebels cried, *No quarter; murder them;* and that they received several wounds after they were down. A third account, dated at Penrith on the 23d, says, that the main body of the rebels was in that town on the 18th, when their rear guard, which consisted



sisted of about 1000 of their best men, were driven out of Clifton by about 300 dismounted dragoons, 12 of whom were killed and 24 wounded. After the action, the rebels retired to four miles distance.

As soon as this news reached Penrith, orders were given by the rebels to prepare for a march forthwith; and about eight that evening they set out thence, and continued marching all night towards Carlisle; where they arrived at nine next day, the 19th. It was so dark, and the country so covered, that it was not possible to pursue them that night; and the troops being fatigued with the forced marches they had made thro' very bad roads, they halted at Penrith on the 19th; where they were joined by the greatest part of the foot that night, and by the remainder next morning. The highlanders were guilty of great excesses at Penrith. They broke open several houses and shops, took away great quantities of goods, and threw into the streets, and spoilt or destroyed what they could not carry off.

St. George's dragoons came to Penrith on the 19th in the morning, and marched on to Hesketh, eight miles from Carlisle; where they continued all that night and next day. The Duke, with the rest of the army, halted the 20th at Penrith.

Marshal Wade arrived at Newcastle on the 20th, and gave orders for the immediate march of 1000 foot and 50 horse to join the Duke in the neighbourhood of Carlisle. Those troops marched accordingly from Newcastle on the 21st, and were to be next night at Haltewesl.

On the 20th the rebels pursued their march Northward from Carlisle, having staid there but one night, to change the garrison. They left all their cannon there excepting three pieces. Sixteen carts laden with their tents, were taken by Major General Bland.

At four in the morning of the 21st, the army marched from Penrith in three columns towards Carlisle; the Duke with the infantry, making the centre, along the post-road, and the horse and dragoons in two columns, one on his right by Armathwate, and the other on his

left by Hutton-hall. Upon the march, his Royal Highness received the news of the rebels having quitted Carlisle, and left in it only 3 or 400 men; who according to the best intelligence, consisted chiefly of their English recruits, and Gordon of Glenbucklet's men, commanded by one Hamilton. The Duke's army joined on Carlton muir. About noon they came in sight of Carlisle; and Major General Bland invested it on the Scots side with St. George's dragoons and 300 men of Bligh's regiment, with orders to prevent any passage over the bridge upon the Eden, which leads directly to the Scots gate. Major Adams was posted with 200 foot in the suburbs of the English gate, to prevent any of the garrison's escaping that way; Major Meriac at the Irish gate with the same orders, and Sir Andrew Agnew at the sally-port with 300. All the horse, and the foot-guards, were cantoned round the town, at a mile or two distance. The garrison made a shew of intending to defend the place, firing their cannon upon every body who appeared in sight of it.

The Duke sent for a train of battering cannon from Whitehaven, and it had orders to move with the whole *posse committatus*, which was to assemble at Wigton on the 21st. This train was expected at the army in a day or two; and it was proposed to have a battery erected by the morning of the 24th; by which it was not doubted but the Duke would be master of the town in twenty four hours. Only four pieces of cannon, however, having arrived by the 24th, the erecting of the battery was deferred. Next day six more pieces of cannon arrived. Mean time the garrison fired almost incessantly. But on the 28th at noon, the besiegers began to batter the four-gun battery of the town with six eighteen pounders. On the 29th it was found necessary to abate firing for want of shot, till towards evening; when a fresh supply arriving, it was renewed very briskly for two hours, which shook the walls very much.

That evening a fellow attempting to get out of the town, was taken by one of the advanced parties, and brought to the Duke. He delivered two letters; one for

for his Royal Highness; the other for the commander of the Dutch troops, supposed to be with his army. They were from a person styling himself *Commander of the French artillery, and of the French garrison that was at, or might come to Carlisle, for the defence of the town and citadel*, and who subscribed his name *De Geoghagan*. The contents of them were, to summon the commander of the Dutch to retire with his troops from the English army, under pretence of the capitulation of Tournay.

The night of the 29th was spent in raising a new battery of three 18 pounders; which was completed by the morning. But, on the first platoon of the old battery firing, the rebels hung out the white flag; whereupon the battery ceased; and they called over the walls, that they had two hostages ready to be delivered up at the English gate, which is on the opposite side of the town. His Royal Highness then ordered Colonel Conway and Lord Bury to go and deliver the two following messages in writing, to be signed by Colonel Conway; the second message being designed as an answer to the person's letter who called himself a Frenchman.

1. **H**IS Royal Highness will make no exchange of hostages with rebels, and desires they will let him know by me, what they mean by hanging out the white flag.

2. To let the French officer know, if there be one in the town, that there are no Dutch troops here, but enough of the King's to chastise the rebels, and those who dare to give them assistance.

*Signed, COL. CONWAY,  
Aid de Camp to his R. Highness the Duke.*

In about two hours they returned, and brought a paper written as follows.

**I**N answer to the short note sent by his Royal Highness Prince William Duke of Cumberland, the Governor, in name of himself, and all the officers and soldiers, gunners and others belonging to the garrison, desire to



know what terms his Royal Highness will be pleased to give them, upon surrender of the city and castle of Carlisle; and which known, his Royal Highness shall be duly acquainted with the Governor and garrison's last and ultimate resolution; the white flag being hung out on purpose to obtain a cessation of arms for concluding such a capitulation. This is to be given to his Royal Highness's Aid de Camp.

*Signed, JOHN HAMILTON.*

Whereupon they were sent back with the terms, signed by the Duke of Richmond, by order of his Royal Highness, as contained in the following declaration.

**A**LL the terms his Royal Highness will or can grant to the rebel garrison of Carlisle, are, That they shall not be put to the sword, but be reserved for the King's pleasure.

If they consent to these conditions, the Governor and principal officers are to deliver themselves up immediately; and the castle, citadel, and all the gates of the town, are to be taken possession of forthwith by the King's troops. All the small arms are to be lodged in the town guard-room; and the rest of the garrison are to retire to the cathedral; where a guard is to be placed over them. No damage is to be done to the artillery, arms, or ammunition. *Head-quarters at Blackhall, December 30. half an hour past two in the afternoon.*

By his Royal Highness's command,

*Signed, RICHMOND, LENOX, and AUBIGNY,  
Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's forces.*

About four they brought the following paper, signed also by *John Hamilton.*

**T**HE Governor of Carlisle, and his officers composing the garrison, agree to the terms of capitulation given in and subscribed, by order of his Royal Highness, by his Grace the Duke of *Richmond, Lenox, and Aubigny*, Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's forces; recommending themselves to his Royal Highness's clemency, and that his Royal Highness will be pleased to interpose for them with his Majesty; and that the officers

officers cloaths and baggage may be safe, with a competent time to be allowed to the citizens of Carlisle to remove their beds, bed-cloaths, and other household-furniture impressed from them for the use of the garrison in the castle. *The 30th of December 1745, at three o'clock in the afternoon.*

On which Brigadier Bligh was ordered immediately to take possession of the town, and to have there that night 400 foot-guards, and 700 marching foot, with 120 horse to patrolle in the streets. The Duke was to enter the next day.

The following is an account of the rebel officers and soldiers, together with their artillery, taken in this place, viz.

**ENGLISH.** 1 Colonel, Francis, Townly, of Lancashire. — 5 Captains. John Saunderfon, of Northumberland; Peter Moss, James Dawson, and George Fletcher, all of Lancashire; and Andrew Blood, of Yorkshire. — 6 Lieutenants: Thomas Deacon, John Berwick, Robert Deacon, and John Holker, all of Lancashire; Thomas Chadwick of Staffordshire; and Thomas Furnival of Cheshire. — 7 Ensigns: Charles Deacon, and Charles Gaylor, both of Lancashire; John Hurter, of Northumberland; James Wilding, John Betts, and William Bradshaw, all of Lancashire; and Samuel Maddock, of Cheshire. — 1 Adjutant, Thomas Seddell, of Lancashire. — All of the Manchester regiment. 93 non-commission officers drummers, and private men. — James Cappock, of Lancashire, made by the Pretender Bishop of Carlisle.

**SCOTS.** The Governor, John Hamilton, Aberdeenshire. — 6 Captains: Robert Forbes, Aberdeenshire, of Lord Lewis Gordon's regiment; John Burnet, Aberdeenshire, of Colonel Grant's; George Abernethy, Banffshire, of Lord Ogilvy's; Alexander Abernethy, Banffshire of the Duke of Perth's; Donald Macdonald, Invernesshire, of Keppoch's; and John Comerie, Bracs of Athol, of the Duke of Athol's. — 7 Lieutenants: Charles Gordon, Aberdeenshire, of Lord Ogilvy's regiment;

ment; James Gordon, Aberdeenshire, of Colonel Grant's; Walter Ogilvy, Banffshire, of Lord Lewis Gordon's; William Stuart, Banffshire, of Colonel Roy Stuarts; two Alexander Macgrouthers, Perthshire, and James Nicholson, all of the Duke of Perth's. The last broke the capitulation by endeavouring to make his escape.—3 Ensigns; Walter Mitchel, and George Ramsay, both of Aberdeenshire, and of the Duke of Perth's regiment; and James Menzies, St. German's, France, of Colonel Roy Stuart's.—1 Surgeon, James Stratton, Berwickshire.—256 non-commission officers, drummers, and private men.

*FRENCH.* Sir Francis Geoghegan, a Captain of Lally's Regiment; Colonel Strickland, of no regiment; and Sir John Arbuthnot, a Captain of Lord John Drummond's; all of Thoulouse.—1 Serjeant, Pierre la Locke, of Dieppe, of Lally's regiment.—4 private men, all of Lally's regiment: Francis Carpenter, of Dieppe; Pierre Bourgogne, of Tourrat; Jean Pouffin, and Pierre Vickman, both of Dieppe.

*ARTILLERY;* 6 one and half pounder brass guns, 1 brass octagon, 3 brass four pounder guns, all with carriages, 4 brass coehorns, and 2 royals.

Mean while the rebel army continued their retreat Northward. They passed the Esk on the 20th, and then divided. One body, computed at about 4000, quartered that night at Annan; and another body, of about 2000, at Ecclefechan. Lord Elcho, with about 4 or 500, proceeded from Annan to Dumfries; and the rest followed next day. Those of Ecclefechan took the route of Moffat. The young Pretender, the French Ambassador, the Duke of Perth, Lord Elcho, Lord, Pittligo, Lochiel, Clanronald, Glengary, and Keppoch, went by Dumfries; Lord Tullibardine, Lord George Murray, Lords Ogilvy and Nairn, by Moffat. On the morning of the 23d, the body at Dumfries marched thence; and the Pretender's son proposed to lodge that night at Drumlanrig. The rebels shot a tenant of the Duke of Queensberry's, for running out of their way, and not returning quickly enough at their call. They levied



levied the excise at Dumfries, and intimated, that if either excise or land tax was paid for the future to any other than them, the people might be sure of paying them over again double. They imposed a contribution on that town, of 2000 l. in money and 1000 pairs of shoes; seized about nine casks of gun-powder, all the arms publick and private, horse-furniture, boots, &c, every horse that could be found in town and country, and took free quarters. Near 1100 l. of the money was paid; and Provost Crosbie and Mr. Walter Riddel were carried off as hostages, till the remainder should be remitted. They ordered the townspeople to send their baggage after them; and at the same time assured, that if they heard that a finger was moved against any one of their stragglers, the hostages would instantly be put to death. They were guilty of great outrages, having robbed and plundered several houses; and they told the people, they had reason to think themselves gently used, that their town was not laid in ashes. The damage done in the town cannot be repaired for 4000 l. but that done in the country is much greater.

The van of the rebel-army entered Glasgow on the 25th; and the main body, with the Pretender's son, next evening. They made great demands on that city, as a punishment for having armed and raised a regiment against their leader.

A subscription was opened at Guildhall on the 27th of November, by the Lord Mayor and others, for relief of the soldiers employed during the winter-season towards suppressing the rebellion. The managing committee, by order of a general meeting of the subscribers, desired the opinion of the Duke of Cumberland and Marshal Wade, how the money might be best applied; and, by their approbation, contracted, on the 23d of December, for 12,000 pair of breeches, 12,000 shirts, 10,000 woollen caps, 10,000 pair of woollen stockings, 1000 blankets, 12,000 pair of knit woollen gloves, and 9000 pair of woollen spatterdashies, to be forthwith provided for the use of the army. It was also resolved, that 5000 l. should be set apart for the rewarding of maimed

maimed or wounded soldiers, and 300*l.* applied as Marshal Wade should direct, for the more speedy recovery of the sick soldiers under his command, in augmentation of the allowance granted by the crown. To this fund 1000*l.* has been subscribed out of the chamber of London, 1200*l.* by the Lord chief Justice Lee, the Master of the Rolls, and the Judges, 500*l.* by the Civilians at Doctors Commons, 523*l.* 19*s.* by the Gentlemen volunteers, 500*l.* by the goldsmiths company, 300*l.* each by the drappers and fishmongers, 212*l.* 14*s.* by the clothworkers, 105*l.* by the skinners, 100*l.* each by the coopers and stationers, and 600*l.* by Mr. Rich, being the amount of three nights acting the *Beggars opera*.

On the 1st of December arrived in the Thames from Williamstadt, the two remaining troops of Lieutenant General Sir John Ligonier's regiment of horse, Lieutenant General Hawley's, and the remains of Lieutenant General Sir Robert Rich's regiment of dragoons.

Several Gentlemen of the Law formed themselves into a regiment, under the command of the Lord Chief Justice Willes, for the defence of the Royal family, in such manner as his Majesty should think proper, within the cities of London and Westminster, they were denominated, *The associated regiment of the law, for the defence of the Royal family, and the preservation of the constitution in church and state*

On the 8th at night, several treasonable printed papers, called the Pretender's declaration, were dropt on the parade in St. James's park, and put under the doors of people's houses.

It being apprehended that the rebels were coming forward from Derby for London, and that the Duke would not be able to come up with them, it was resolved to form a camp on Finchley common; for which purpose, the guards, Lord John Murray's (the old highland) regiment, &c. marched on the 7th to Highgate, Enfield, and Barnet; and a large train of artillery was sent from the tower. The same day, the lieutenancy of London directed, that two regiments of the trained bands

bands should be out every night, and one in the day time. But, upon the news of the rebels retreat, the orders given the troops were countermanded, the artillery returned, the day duty of the trained bands was discontinued, and one regiment only ordered out at night.

The following proclamation was issued, of date December 6. *for putting the laws in execution against Jesuits and Popish Priests, and promising a reward for apprehending them within London, Westminster, the borough of Southwark, or within ten miles of the said cities of London and Westminster.*

### GEORGE R.

**W**HEREAS, by an act of parliament made in the 27th year of Queen Elizabeth, it is enacted, That it shall not be lawful for any Jesuit or Popish Priest, born within this realm, or any other our dominions, to come into, or be or remain in any part thereof, under the penalty of being guilty of high treason, in case he shall not, within three days after he shall come into this realm, submit himself to some bishop of this realm, or to some Justice of the Peace, and to take the oaths; and every person, who shall wittingly and willingly receive or maintain such Jesuit or Popish Priest, shall be guilty of felony without benefit of clergy; and, by the same act, it is further enacted, That, if any subject shall know that any such Priest is within the realm, and not discover him unto some Justice of Peace, or other higher officer, within twelve days next after his said knowledge, but willingly conceal his knowledge therein, then every such offender shall be fined and imprisoned at the Queen's pleasure: and whereas it is, by an act of the 3d year of King James I. enacted, That, if any person shall put in practice, to absolve, persuade or withdraw any of the subjects of his Majesty, his heirs or successors, from his natural obedience of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, or to reconcile them to the Pope or see of Rome, or to move them to promise obedience to any pretended authority of the see of Rome, or to any other prince, state or potentate; then every such person, their procurers,



carers, counsellors, aiders and maintainers, knowing the same, shall be adjudged traitors, and suffer as such; or if any person shall, by any means, be willingly withdrawn, or promise obedience as aforesaid, such person is thereby made guilty of high treason: and whereas it is notorious, that great numbers of such Jesuits and Popish Priests, taking advantage of the lenity of our government, in not putting the said laws, and other laws against Papists, into strict execution, have of late come into or continued in this our kingdom, exercising their functions, and have perverted, or attempted to pervert many of our subjects from the Protestant religion and their allegiance: and whereas, at this time of open rebellion in favour of a Popish pretender to our crown, all such Jesuits and Popish Priests are more particularly dangerous to the peace and security of this realm, and it is necessary that the said law should be put in effectual execution against them, and more especially that they should be suffered to come into, or remain in or near to our cities of London or Westminster: and whereas, by our Royal proclamation given at our court at Kensington the 5th day of September last, we did strictly charge and command all Papists and reputed Papists (except as therein is excepted) on or before Thursday the 19th day of September last, to depart out of the cities of London and Westminster, and borough of Southwark, and from all places within ten miles distance from the same: and whereas we have received information, that, notwithstanding the said laws and proclamation, many Jesuits and Popish Priests are so daring as still to continue and reside within the cities of London and Westminster, and borough of Southwark, and within ten miles of the same; we, for the better discovering and apprehending of such Jesuits and Popish Priests do by this our Royal proclamation, by and with the advice of our privy council, strictly charge and command all our Judges, Justices of the Peace, magistrates, officers, and other our loyal subjects, that they do use their utmost care and endeavour to discover, apprehend, and bring to trial, all Jesuits and Popish Priests, except such Popish Priests,

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not being our natural-born subjects, as, by the law of this our realm, are permitted to attend foreign Ministers. And, for the greater encouragement to our loyal subjects in the discovering, apprehending, and bringing to justice such Jesuits and Popish Priests, we are graciously pleased to promise to him, her or them, who shall discover apprehend, or cause to be apprehended, any such Jesuit or Popish Priest, who shall be found after Monday the 9th day of this instant December, in the cities of London or Westminster, or the borough of Southwark, or within ten miles of the said cities, the sum of one hundred pounds for every such Priest; which shall be immediately paid upon conviction, by our High Treasurer, or Commissioners of our Treasury for the time being. And in case there shall be any doubt, who or what person or persons shall be intitled to such reward, and in what proportion, the same shall be settled by the certificate of the judge or judges who shall try the said offence.

On the 12th, Francis Archbangle Montford, an Irish Popish Priest, was committed to Newgate, for remaining in London after the time prescribed by the above proclamation; as was also Pierce Fitzgerald, for entertaining him and other Priests.

By a vessel arrived at Dover on the 12th, advice was received, that an embarkation of troops was carrying on with great expedition at Dunkirk; that most of the vessels to be employed were already there; and that furniture was put on board them for 1000 horses. The following proclamation, dated the 12th, was published in a day or two thereafter.

#### GEORGE R.

**W**HEREAS we have received intelligence, that preparations are making by our enemies to invade this our kingdom, the safety and defence of which require our utmost care, and wherein, by the assistance and blessing of God, we are resolved not to be wanting; and to the intent that they may not, in case of their anding strengthen themselves by seizing the horses, ox-

en and cattle of our subjects, which may be useful to them for draught or burthen, or be easily supplied with provisions: we have therefore thought fit, and do by this our Royal proclamation, by the advice of our privy council, strictly charge and command the Warders of the cinque ports, his Lieutenants, Deputy or Deputies, and all and every the Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants of our counties, and all Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, and all and every other officers and ministers, civil and military, within their respective counties, cities, towns and divisions, that they cause the coasts to be carefully watched, and upon the first approach of the enemy immediately to cause all horses, oxen, and cattle which may be fit for draught or burden, and not actually employed in our Service, or in the defence of the country, and also (as far as may be practicable) all other cattle and provisions, to be driven and removed twenty miles at least from the place where the enemy shall attempt or appear to intend to land, and to secure the same, so as they may not fall into the hands or power of any of our enemies; wherein, nevertheless, it is our will and pleasure, that the respective owners thereof may suffer as little damage, loss, or inconvenience as may be consistent with the publick safety. And we do hereby further strictly charge and command all our subjects to be aiding and assisting in the execution of this our Royal command.

At the same time alarm posts were appointed, and the several guards were ordered to be in readiness to march upon the first notice of any tumult or insurrection within the cities of London or Westminster; which was to be signified by firing of seven half minute guns at the tower, answered by the same signal from St. James's park, and *vice versa*. On hearing which signals, every officer and soldier of the six regiments of the city-militia were likewise ordered to repair, with their arms, and the usual quantity of powder and ball, to their respective places of rendezvous, on pain of being punished as deserters. The like orders were given to the two regiments of the  
tower



tower hamlets. Signals were also settled to the Sussex, Kentish and Essex coasts, by putting out flags in the day, and in the night lights, on the tops of steeples and castles, so as notice of an invasion would be at the tower and St. James's park in a few hours. - About the same time 3000 foot and 1000 horse were ordered for the coasts of Essex and Suffolk, and 4000 foot and 1500 horse for the coast of Kent and Sussex.

Some time before, the Lords of the Admiralty sent orders to Portsmouth, for all the men of war to put to sea, and took up 50 merchantmen, to be armed for cruizers in the channel. Admiral Vernon, and the Commodores Boscawen and Smith, were now at sea, each with a squadron. The Dover privateers had gone voluntarily to Admiral Vernon in the Downs in order to receive and follow his instructions; on which he wrote them the following letter, addressed, *To the Captains of the three Dover privateers*, and dated, *Norwich, in the Downs, December 10.*

*Brother Sailors,*

CAPTAIN Gregory having reported the hearty honest zeal you have expressed for the service of his Majesty, and preservation of your country, from the threatened attempts of the inveterate enemy to our laws religion and liberty; which, like the honest, true-hearted brother sailors, you had roundly set about, manifesting by your actions the sincerity of your declarations, as your own judgment informs you of the present necessity for it, and that we cannot be too nimble for being before hand with them, as, according to the old proverb, *Delays are dangerous*; I take the earliest opportunity to send you, by Captain Gregory, my hearty thanks for the honest and laudable zeal you have expressed for the service of his Majesty and your country, under my orders; and to assure you, that I will take care to do justice to the merits of every one's services, and that no endeavour of mine shall be wanting for procuring you a just, equitable and prompt consideration for the merit of your willing service, that you confide in the honour and

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justice

justice of the crown for your being amply considered;  
for I am,

*Brother Officers,*

*Both yours, and all our honest brother  
sailors friend and humble servant,*

E. VERNON.

On the 12th, two of the *Dover* privateers (the *York*, *Grosvenor*, and the *Carlisle*, - *Owens*) fell in with eight transports bound from *Boulogne* for *Dunkirk*, under convoy of a French man of war of 22 guns, to take troops on board. They seized three of them; one of which with about fourteen prisoners, was sent the same night to Admiral *Vernon* in the *Downs*, and the other two to *Dover* next morning. The same privateers fell in, on the 19th, with about sixty sail mostly fishing-boats and small vessels, from *Dunkirk*, bound, as they supposed, for *Calais* or *Boulogne*, to take in troops. They drove about seventeen of them on shore near *Calais*, blowed up one, sunk two, and brought three away; two of which were brought to *Dover*, and the third lost in that bay. All the vessels taken had some warlike stores on board; such as small cannon, powder, ball, horse-collars, cloaths and bedding for soldiers, and poles about seven feet long, spiked with iron at both ends. Other two French vessels, from *Roan* for *Boulogne*, in ballast, were likewise sent into *Dover*, by one of the privateers belonging to that port.

About this time the country was justly alarmed by the following letter from the vigilant Admiral, addressed, *To John Norris, Esq: at Deal castle, or to the Mayor of Deal in his absence, and dated, Norwich, in the Downs, Dec. 20.*

S I R,

AS from the intelligence I have procured last night, of the enemy's having brought away from *Dunkirk* great numbers of their small imbarcations, and many of them laden with cannon, field-carriages, powder, shot, and other military stores; the Irish troops being  
marched

marched out of Dunkirk towards Calais; General Lowendahl; and many other officers, being at Dunkirk, with a young person among them they call the Prince, and was said to be the second son of the Pretender; as I can't but apprehend they are preparing for a descent from the ports of Calais and Boulogne, which I suspect may be attempted at Dungeness, where many of my cruizers are in motion for, and I have some thoughts of my moving to-morrow with part of my ships, if the weather should be moderate for a descent; I thought it my duty, for his Majesty's service, to advise you of it, and to desire you will communicate this my letter to the Mayor of Deal, and that the neighbouring towns should have advice for assembling for their common defence; that my cruizers signals, for discovering the approach of an enemy, will be their jack-flag flying at their topmast-head, and firing a gun every half-hour; and to desire they will forward the alarm. *I am, &c.*

E. VERNON.

Upon receiving the above letter, the Deputy-Lieutenants of Kent published it, with the following invitation annexed.

**E**VERY body who reads the above letter, willing and ready to stand up for the defence of their King and country, their liberties and lives, are desired to assemble on Sunday morning next, 22d inst. as soon as possible, on horseback, with such arms and ammunition as they have, and to bring two days provisions of victuals with them. The place of rendezvous, or assembling, is Swinfield Minis. It is hoped all the parishes and towns within twenty miles of the sea-coasts any way will not fail to be there, with all the able-bodied men they have.

The parishes near to the Minis are desired to bring some pick-axes, shovels and axes, along with them, besides their arms.

*The DEPUTY-LIEUTENANTS.*



Accordingly near 2000, or as others say 4000, assembled on the day appointed. The place is about three miles from Dover.

On the 25th Admiral Vernon sailed from the Downs, with the following ships, *viz.* the Monmouth, of 70 guns; the Norwich, Ruby, and Falkland, of 50 each; the Sapphire and Folkestone, of 40 each; the Tryton, of 20; the Badger, Hornet, Weazle, and Hinchinbrook, of 16 each; and fifteen small tenders, privateers, and customhouse-sloops. — Remained with Admiral Martin, in the Downs, the Yarmouth, of 70 guns; and the Nottingham, Tilbury, Princess Louisa, and York, of 60 each. — Under Commodore Smith, in the Swin, two ships of 40, and two of 20 guns each; four yachts, and six cutters. — Under Commodore Boscawen, at the Nore, the Royal Sovereign, of 100 guns, and some other ships. — Under Admiral Stewart, at Spithead, the Royal George, of 100 guns; the Prince George, St. George, Duke, and Sandwich, of 90 each; and the Shrewsbury, of 80. — Under Commodore Moyston, at Plymouth, the Hampton-court Prince Frederick, and Edinburgh, of 70 guns each; the Augusta, Defiance, Princess Mary, Superbe, and Canterbury, of 60 each; and the Maidstone, of 40. — And under Admiral Byng, on the Coast of Scotland, the Gloucester, of 50 guns; the Pearl, Milford, and Ludlow, of 40 each; the Winchelsea, Bridgewater, and Glasgow, of 20 each; and the Raven, Shirk, and some other small vessels.

A short while after this, Commodore Knowles, who had been sent to inquire into the true state of the preparations making in France to invade England, informed the Admiralty by a letter, That he had stood within half a mile of the pier-heads at Boulogne; that he was of opinion there were not sixty vessels of all kinds in the harbour, the largest of them a galliot hoy, whose very gaff was much higher than any of the other vessels mast-heads; and that there was not one single one which had a top-sail-yard rigged aloft. That he had been within two or three miles of Calais, and saw three or four small top-sail-vessels in the pier; that the rest were all galliots and

and fishing-boats, and did not exceed thirty in number. And that by Captain Gregory's account, who was sent to take a view of the preparations at Dunkirk, there were but five or six vessels in the road, and very few in the harbour.

An order of council was published, of the 16th, extending, from the 25th of December to the 25th of March next, the time of inlitting soldiers, so as to be intitled to their discharge, if required, either at the end of six months from the respective times of their inlitting, or when the present rebellion shall be extinguished, whichever of them shall first happen.

The parliament met on the 10th of December, pursuant to its adjournment.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer acquainted the Commons, by the Kings command, that his Majesty had caused apprehend Archibald Stewart, Esq; member for, and late Provost of Edinburgh, on suspicion of high treason; and desired their consent to his being committed and detained. Agreeably to which an address was presented; and Mr. Stewart was sent to the tower on the 13th.

A motion was made, That an humble address should be presented to the King, that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to give direction, that there might be laid before the house, copies of all orders which had been given with respect to the bringing home the British cavalry from the Netherlands, specifying the persons to whom such orders were directed, and the dates thereof. But it passed in the negative, Yeas 38, Noes 101.

Next day the following message was presented to the Commons by Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

GEORGE R.

**H**IS Majesty having received undoubted intelligence, that preparations were making at Dunkirk, and other parts of France, which are now in great forwardness, for invading this kingdom with a considerable number of forces, in support of the rebellion carrying on

here, in favour of the Pretender to his crown; and some French troops being already actually landed in Scotland, under the command of a person, who has sent a message to the Generals of some of his Majesty's forces, declaring, that he is come into this kingdom to make war against his Majesty, by the orders of the French King: his Majesty has thought it proper to acquaint the house of Commons with an event of such high importance to his crown, and to the peace and security of these kingdoms. And his Majesty having the last summer taken into his service 6000 Hessian troops, by virtue of a treaty concluded between his Majesty and the King of Sweden, Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, dated the 5-16th day of June, 1745, has judged it necessary to direct the said Hessian troops to be brought into this kingdom, in order, in conjunction with his Majesty's British forces, the more effectually to repel the said invasion, and to suppress the present rebellion: his Majesty therefore doubts not, from the experienced zeal, duty and affection of his faithful Commons, that they will enable him to make good the said treaty, will strengthen his hands, and concur in all such measures as shall be necessary for disappointing and defeating so dangerous an attempt, and for the security of his person and government, and the religion, laws, and liberties of this Kingdom. His Majesty has also ordered a copy of the said treaty to be laid before this house.

G. R.

A copy of the said treaty was accordingly laid before them; and thereupon the house resolved, That an humble address should be presented to the King, to return his Majesty their humble thanks for communicating to the house the advices he had received of the preparations making at Dunkirk, and other ports of France, for invading this kingdom in support of a Popish Pretender, and of the actual landing of some French troops in Scotland; to express their detestation and abhorrence of that daring attempt, and of the insolent declaration of the person who takes upon him the command of those troops; to return his Majesty their thanks for his paternal care for the

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the security and safety of his people, in directing the Hessian troops taken into his Majesty's service last summer, to be brought into this kingdom, in order the more effectually to repel the said invasion, and to suppress the present most unnatural rebellion; to assure his Majesty, that the house would make good any expence incurred on that account; that they would with their lives and fortunes, support his Majesty's most sacred person and government, and heartily concur in such further measures as should be found necessary to put a strength in his Majesty's hands, sufficient, by the blessing of God, to deter our avowed enemies from prosecuting their ambitious designs, totally to extinguish the present wicked rebellion, and to rescue these kingdoms from all apprehensions of Popery and arbitrary power.

And, an address having been presented in these terms, the King gave the following answer, which was reported to the house on the 20, *viz.* "I thank you for this dutiful and affectionate address. As I have always made the laws of the land the rule of my government, you may be assured I shall make no other use of the trust you repose in me, but to defeat any attempt of our enemies, and to suppress the present rebellion; which, by your vigour and support, I doubt not, with the blessing of God, soon to accomplish.

A message to the same purpose was sent to the other house; on which their Lordships likewise presented a loyal and humble address, and received a most gracious answer.

On the 29th of November, a party of the rebel-horse from Carlisle went to Penrith, demanded quarters of 3000 men, whom they reported to be upon the road, and gave orders that the excise-money, contributions, &c. should be held in readiness for them. Thereupon the people of the town sent out scouts to Penrith-fell, to discover the rebels; but no more appearing, the fire-bell was rung, which alarmed and brought together great numbers from all parts. The horse thereupon marched off for the bridge, and from thence to Louthers-hall; of which they took possession. The country people immediately

immediately pursued them, surrounded the house, fired into it upon them, killed one, wounded several, and made ten prisoners, with all their horses. Eight of the rebels made their escape over the water. Of the country people only one was wounded, who was shot thro' the thigh. Mr. Boyd, second son to the Earl of Kilmarnock, having fallen ill, was left at Carlisle when the rebels marched South. A few days after, finding himself better, he set out to join the army, with an escort of about twenty men. At Lowther-hall, when at dinner, they were attacked by a great number of militia, headed by Lord Lonsdale's steward. They defended themselves desperately; and six of them, of whom Mr. Boyd was one, cut their way through. The rest were either killed or taken.

A letter dated at Butley-ash, two miles North of Macclesfield, December 1. described the young Chevalier thus: "About three in the afternoon marched by the Pretender's son, at the head of two regiments of foot. He marched all the way from Manchester, and forded the river above Stockport, which took him up to the middle. He was dressed in a light plaid, belted about with a blue sash. He wore a grey wig, and a blue bonnet, with a white rose in it."

In a long march which the Pretender's son made in Lancashire, thro' very bad roads, he wore a hole in one of his shoes. Upon his arrival at a small village, he ordered a blacksmith to make a thin plate of iron, and fasten it to the bottom of the sole. Which done, he paid him, and said, "My lad, thou art the first blacksmith that ever shod the son of a King."

The principal person upon whom the Pretender's son depended in this expedition, was one Sullivan. He is by birth an Irishman, and was educated in a Romish college abroad; where he entered into Priests orders. He had the fortune to be recommended to Marshal Maitlebois, by whom he was retained as a domestic tutor to his son. The Marshal perceiving in him some symptoms of a genius better adapted to the sword than to the gown, encouraged him rather to apply himself to the latter

latter profession; which he did with such success, that, having attended his master to Corsica, when the French undertook to deprive those poor people of their liberties, he acted as his Secretary. The Marshal, who was a *bon vivant*, and used constantly to get drunk every day after dinner, was almost incapable of business the greatest part of the twenty four hours; during all which time the whole power devolved on Sullivan; who executed it in such a manner as to do great honour both to himself and his master; having here gained a very high military reputation, as well as much knowledge in what is called the art of making irregular war. He afterwards served two campaigns, one in Italy, and the other on the Rhine; in which latter campaign a French General giving a character of him, said, that he understood the irregular art of war better than any man in Europe; nor was his knowledge in the regular much inferior to that of the best General. To the abilities of this man we may justly attribute the success with which a handful of banditti have so long been able to over-run and plunder a large part of this opulent and powerful nation.

After the arrival of the French troops a declaration was published by the person styling himself *Lord John Drummond* in the following terms,

**W**E Lord John Drummond, Commander in Chief of his Most Christian Majesty's forces in Scotland do hereby declare, That we are come to this kingdom with written orders to make war against the King of England, Elector of Hanover, and his adherents; and that the positive orders we have from his Most Christian Majesty are, to attack all his enemies in this kingdom; whom he has declared to be, those who will not immediately join or assist, as far as will lie in their power, the Prince of Wales, Regent in Scotland, &c. his ally; and whom he is resolved, with the concurrence of the King of Spain, to support in the taking possession of Scotland, England, and Ireland, if necessary at the expence of all the men and money he is master of; to which three kingdoms the family of Stuart have so just and indisputable



table a title. And his most Christian Majesty's positive orders are, That his enemies should be uled in this kingdom in proportion to the harm they do or intend to his Royal Highness's cause.—Given at Montrose the 2d of December 1745.

J. DRUMMOND.

Those troops brought along with them a train of artillery of 18 pounders, and, soon after their landing, ordered it South. One of their cannon took twenty of the North-country horses to draw it. About the beginning of December, they gave out that they would cross the Forth, and talked of besieging both Edinburgh and Stirling castles. On notice of this, Price's foot marched from Edinburgh on the 6th, and Ligonier's on the 9th, for Stirling. A body of the Glasgow and Paisly militia marched thither about the same time. The Earl of Home commanded the former, and the Earl of Glencairn the latter. They were joined by the Stirling militia. The whole were posted so as best to secure the bridge of Stirling, and the fords at the heads of the Forth.

About this time a drum was sent by Lord John Drummond, with letters to the King's Generals, and to Count Nassau, commander in chief of the Dutch troops then in England. He touched first at Stirling. There he got an escort of eight dragoons. He arrived at Edinburgh on the 9th, delivered letters at the castle, and to General Gueff, proceeded Southward on the 11th, and arrived at Newcastle on the 19th. 'Tis probable these letters related to the declaration above mentioned, or to the French cartel for exchange of prisoners. Marshal Wade caused the following return to be given to the drum: "That the Marshal had no answer to give to the letter brought by him; and that he can receive no message from a person who is a subject of the King and in rebellion against his Majesty."

Upon the news of the march of the rebels into England, and some pretended successes gained by them, the Frasers, headed by Lord Lovat's son, formed a sort of blockade

blockade of Fort Augustus; whilst Lord Lewis Gordon, in Banff and Aberdeenshire, was raising men and levying money, by force, and threats of the most severe military execution. The money imposed on the town and shire of Aberdeen being 5 l. Sterling, or an able-bodied man, with sufficient highland cloaths, plaid and arms, for every 100 l. Scots of valued rent, was computed at near 13,000 l. Sterling. On the 3d of December, the Earl of Loudon, with 600 of the well-affected clans marched, in a very severe frost, from Inverness, thro' Stratherrick, part of Lord Lovat's estate, on the South-side of Lochness, to the relief of Fort Augustus. He met with no opposition, supplied the place with what was wanting, and returned to Inverness on the 8th; after letting the inhabitants of Stratherrick know what they were to expect if they joined the rebels.

This detachment, after one day's rest, was ordered to march and relieve Banff and Aberdeenshire. For this end, two companies of Mackenzies, who had been posted near Braham, were called into Inverness on Monday the 9th. On the 10th, the Lord Loudon, with 800 men, marched out to Lord Lovat's house of Castle-Downie, to obtain the best security he could for the peaceable behaviour of the Frasers. At the same time the Laird of Macleod was detached with 500 men (400 whereof were of his own kindred) towards Elgin, in their way to Banff and Aberdeenshire, to prevent the rebels recruiting there; and they were to be followed by Lord Loudon, and as many men as could be spared from Inverness. Lord Loudon prevailed with Lord Lovat, upon Wednesday the 11th, to come into Inverness along with him, and to live there under his eye until he should bring in all the arms which the clan was possessed of; which he promised to do against Saturday night following, and highly condemned the behaviour of his son. Whilst Lord Loudon waited for the delivery of these arms, 200 men, under Captain Montro of Culcairn, were detached by his Lordship to follow Mackleod to Elgin and Aberdeen. Lord Lovat, after delaying to fulfil his promise from time to time, at last found means to get out of the house where

where he was lodged, at a back passage, and made his escape. In the mean time Macleod marched forwards to Elgin; and from thence, hearing that 200 rebels had taken possession of the boats of Spey at Fochabris, and pretended to dispute the passage with him, he advanced on Sunday the 15th to the banks of that river; which the rebels on his approach quitted, leaving him a quiet passage. From thence he advanced on the 16th and 17th to Gullen and Banff, whilst Captain Monro with his 200 men, on the 17th and 18th, advanced by Keith to Strathbogie; and the rebels, who were in possession of those places, retired towards Aberdeen. Mr. Grant of Grant joined Captain Monro with 500 of his clan, and marched with him to Strathbogie. Upon the 19th it was resolved by Macleod and Captain Monro to march the next morning, the first from Banff to Old-Meldrum, twelve miles off Aberdeen, and the last from Strathbogie to Inverury, which is at the like distance.

On the 23d, a body of the rebels from Aberdeen attacked the party under the command of Macleod and Culcairn, at Inverury. A few were killed on each side. Macleod and Culcairn, with their men, retreated.— The rebels took 41 prisoners; among whom were Messrs. Gordon of Ardoch junior, Forbes of Echt, and John Chalmers one of the Regents in the university of Aberdeen.

By the direction of some French engineers, the rebels at Perth in some sort repaired Oliver's mount, and had from 100 to 200 country people employed in fortifying the whole town. The officers who were prisoners there, were sent to Glamis. Letters from Inverness, dated December 22. said, that the rebels at Perth had got no accession of strength from that country, save between 2 and 300 Frasers headed by Lord Lovat's son, and some Macdonalds of Clanronald's people from Moidart, who had marched thro' Athol six days before the date, escorting a considerable quantity of Spanish money that was landed in the island of Barry. There were advices about the end of December, that the rebels had got some of their military stores, particularly iron can-



non and ball, from Montrose by sea to Perth; that they had fitted out the Hazard sloop and a privateer at Montrose, which were ready to put to sea; and that they were also fitting out an armed sloop at Perth.

A party of highlanders and French came to Dumfermling on the 27th, to collect the cess and excise, and committed several outrages there and at Alloa. Besides raising the publick monies, they assessed several Gentlemen in considerable sums, viz. Sir George Preston of Valleyfield, in 300*l*. Mr. Welwood of Garvock, in 250; Masters Cunningham of Balbougie, and Charles Cochran, in 200 each; Sir Robert Henderson of Fordel, Masters Blackwood of Pitreavie, and Erskine of Carnock, in 150 each Masters Colvil of Torieburn, and Dundas of Blair, in 100 each; and Masters Robert Welwood, and Black, Clerk of Dumfermline, in 50 each.

The French prisoners taken by the Milford, and lodged in the castle of Edinburgh, were shipped at Leith on the 26th, and sent to Berwick. Some of the officers were left in the castle; and sixteen of the private men were brought back to Edinburgh from Berwick, who were said to have deserted from the British forces when in Flanders.

Four Gentlemen were deputed by several of the principal inhabitants of Edinburgh, to congratulate the Duke of Cumberland on his success against the rebels, and to invite him to that capital in case he should enter Scotland. The deputies were introduced to the Duke, by the Earl of Panmuir, at the camp before Carlisle; were graciously received, and had the honour to dine with his Royal Highness. They were eye-witnesses to the surrender of that place. The Duke entered on the morning of the 31st, amidst the loud acclamations of the people. Four dragoons found there, who had enlisted with the young Chevalier after the battle of *Preston* were hanged up. The Duke's presence being absolutely necessary at London, he could not honour Edinburgh with a visit; but expressed the highest regard for the loyalty and affection of the inhabitants.

When the rebels forded the Elk on the 20th, that river was breast-deep; and some of them were drowned. On their approach, the Glasgow militia who had not before marched to Stirling, secured their arms in Dumbarton castle.

At Glasgow the rebels published a journal of their marches from the time of their entering England on the 8th of November till their return into Scotland on the 20th of December. It is there said, That in a council of war held in the Pretender's son's presence, at Derby, December 5. (dispatches of importance being received), it was resolved to return to Scotland: and next day they began their march accordingly.—That, at Clifton, the King's troops formed on a muir within half a cannon-shot of that village; that, about an hour after sunset, several dragoons dismounted, came to the bottom of the muir, and lined some hedges and ditches next to it; that there was a pretty smart fire on both sides for above half an hour; that, at last, the dragoons firing very fast, Lord George Murray, who always commanded the rear-guard, sent Cluny Macpherson's battalion down upon them sword in-hand, with orders to drive them from their posts, but not to advance upon the muir; that the Macphersons, after passing two hedges, drove the dragoons from the third, which was the last, and then returned, as they were ordered, to their former posts, with the loss of twelve men only, who had run up the muir, and were amissing; that the number of dragoons killed and wounded was uncertain, but judged not to be under a hundred; that, night being come on, both sides retired: and that thereafter the King's troops did not come in sight of the rebels.—That the Pretender's son marched always on foot at the head of the men; and that by all accidents, such as death by sickness, and people who had gone a-plundering (which they confessed could not be entirely prevented by the officers) and were never more heard of, they did not lose forty men in the expedition, including the twelve at Clifton.—But different accounts gave out that about a hundred of the rebels were taken prisoners.

*Extract of a Letter from Derby.*

ON Wednesday the 4th of December, about eleven o'clock, two of the rebels vanguard entered this town, inquired for the magistrates, and demanded billets for 9000 men or more. A short while after, the vanguard rode into town, consisting of about 30 men, cloathed in blue faced with red, and scarlet waist-coats with gold lace; and, being likely men, made a good appearance. They were drawn up in the market-place, and sat on horseback two or three hours. At the same time the bells were rung, and several bonfires made to prevent any resentment from them that might ensue on our shewing a dislike of their coming among us. About three afternoon, Lord Elcho, with the life-guards, and many of their chiefs, arrived on horseback, to the number of about 150, most of them cloathed as above. These made a fine shew, being the flower of their army. Soon after, their main body marched into town, in tolerable order, six or eight abreast, with about eight standards, most of them white flags and a red cross; bag-pipers playing as they marched along. While they were in the market-place, they ordered their Prince to be publickly proclaimed before he arrived; which was accordingly done by the common cryer. They then insisted upon the magistrates appearing in their gowns; but being told they had sent them out of town, were content to have that ceremony excused. Their Prince did not arrive till the dusk of the evening. He walked on foot, attended by a great body of his men, who conducted him to his lodgings, the Lord Exter's; where he had guards placed all round the house. Every house almost by this time was pretty well filled; but they continued driving in till ten or eleven at night, and we thought we should never have seen the last of them. The Dukes of Athol and Perth, the Lords Pittligo, Nairn, Elcho, and George Murray, old Gordon of Glenbucklet, and their other chiefs and great officers, Lady Ogilvie, and Mrs. Murray, were lodged at the best Gentlemens houses. Many common ordinary houses, both publick and private, had 40 or 50 men each,



each, and some Gentlemen near 100. At their coming in, they were generally treated with bread, cheese, beer, and ale, whilst all hands were aloft getting their suppers ready. After supper, being weary with their long march, they went to rest, most upon straw, and others in beds.

Next day they beat up for volunteers, and offering five shillings advance, and five guineas when they came to London; but met with very little success. They ordered the cryer to make publick proclamation about the town, for all persons that paid excise, to pay what was due by five o'clock that evening, on pain of military execution; by which means they collected a considerable sum of money. They also made a demand of 100*l*. upon the post-office, and afterwards insisted upon 50*l*.; which not being complied with, they took the post-chaise along with them. Besides, they demanded what money had been subscribed and paid towards raising men in this town and country; which many Gentlemen were obliged to pay. They appointed prayers to be read at six in the evening at the great church; which was performed by young Cappock of Manchester, (since taken at Carlisle).

Early on Friday morning. their drums beat to arms, and their bag-pipers played about the town. No one then knew their route; but most imagined they would march to Loughborough for London, their advance-guard having secured the pass at Swarkston-bridge. (tho' several had asserted the contrary). However, we were soon undeceived, by their precipitate retreat the same road they came, marching off about seven in the morning. Their Prince, mounted upon a black horse, left his lodgings about nine o'clock. We were rid of all of them, except a few stragglers, by eleven. Their hussars were a parcel of fierce and desperate fellows, and were the last body that quitted the town. They ransacked the neighbouring villages for arms and horses, of which they got a great number.

Their artillery was at Nun's-green, not in our market-place

ket-place, nor did the officers who came back raise any money, as had been formerly asserted.

By an exact account taken of the number quartered in each of the five parishes of this town, there were in whole the first night 7098, and the second night 7148.

*An account of the behaviour of the rebels at Manchester;  
on their retreat.*

THE Bellman went about the town on Sunday the 8th of December, to order all persons to provide pick axes, &c. to spoil the roads; and again, to arm themselves with such weapons as they could get; and there were, 'tis believed, of the country and town's folks about 10,000 soon collected, armed with scythes, hedge-stakes, &c. who seemed very hearty to have a brush with the rebels. But the Gentlemen considering, that, if they did stop them, it must be attended with the loss of a great many useful lives, and the hazard of of the town being burnt, the Bellman went about the town to order them to disperse. At night four rebels came thither. One of them, supposed to be Thomas Syddel the barber, narrowly escaped being seized at the upper end of Market-street-lane. He was forced to gallop down the street, and thro' Acker's gate; and in the square he quitted his mare.

Next day at noon, about 40 of the rebels came in. Several stones were thrown at them by the mob as they came thro' Hanging ditch. They threatened to fire, but did not; and sat on horseback, some with pistols, others with guns in their hands, all ready cocked, till the main body came in. They billeted themselves most at their old quarters. They behaved worse than they did before. About seven o'clock, the constables sent for several of the principal inhabitants to meet them at the old coffee-house, and there shewed them a warrant from the Pretender, to raise from the town 5000l. against the next day by four o'clock, on pain of military execution. It was thought impossible to do this, considering the sums they had extorted from the town before, which amounted to near 3000l.

Next morning, a considerable number of the inhabitants met; some of whom waited on the Pretender, to acquaint him with the impossibility of raising the money, and to endeavour to have the payment excused. Upon this he mitigated it to 2500*l*. and sent a warrant for that sum to be levied on Manchester and Salford by one o'clock; and while methods were contriving how to procure it, three or four of the rebels seized Mr. James Bailey senior, took him to Secretary Murray at the Pretender's lodgings, and told him he must be a prisoner till it was paid; and if it was not paid, he must go with them. Mr. Bailey endeavoured to excuse himself, by saying he was betwixt 70 and 80 years old, and, to his remembrance, had not lain a night out of his own bed for two years, nor could bear travel. He was told, if he could not ride, they would endeavour to get him a wheel-carriage. Mr. Bailey said, his confinement was an obstruction to the raising the money, and if he was at liberty he might borrow some. The Secretary brought an answer, that the Prince, in consideration of his age, if he would give him his word and honour to fetch him 2500*l*. in two hours, or surrender himself a prisoner, consented he should have his liberty so long. This Mr. Bailey agreed to, and went to the coffee-house where a great number of the inhabitants were; and it being proposed that Mr. Bailey and Mr. John Dickenson should give promissory notes, payable in three months, to such as would lend any money, it was agreed to, and the money being thereby procured, was paid about two o'clock. Their main body marched this morning for Wigan, and the remainder in the afternoon.

The Duke of Cumberland did not pursue the rebels further than Carlisle. After the surrender of that place, his Royal Highness left the army and returned to London, where he arrived on the 5th of January in the morning. Marshal Wade with the army under his command returned to Newcastle about the 20th of December, after having been in march more than a month, in order to stop the progress, or intercept the retreat of the rebels; but without ever coming up with them. A considerable



siderable body of troops were ordered for Scotland, and the command given to Lieutenant General Henry Hawley.

By a medium of several computations, the number of the rebels, when they arrived at Glasgow, was about 3600 foot, and near 500 horse, including 50 or 60 employed in carrying their sick. Their horses were poor and jaded; and 6 or 700 of their foot had no arms, nor ability to use them. While they were there, they lost several men by desertion and death, and insisted about 50 or 60, who took on with them for want of bread.

Besides these, it was thought there were about 800 highlanders then quartered in the neighbourhood of Stirling, and several hundred at Montrose, where there were also a good number of low country rebels under the command of Sir James Kinloch, and one David Eerier who had formerly been a merchant in Brechin. About 400 french and a few highlanders remained at Perth, and towards the end of December about two or three hundred men from Braemar and Crömar came to Aberdeen to join Lord Lewis Gordon, then upon his march to Perth with 800 men; the number of the rebels about Perth, Aberdeen and the country about, were at this time supposed to be towards 4000. But we are persuaded that by this account the number was greatly exaggerated.

On the other hand, accounts from Inverness, dated December 30. said, that the force then under the command of the Earl of Loudon, was about 1700 highlanders; that, of these, seven companies were then between Inverness and the Spey, and the rest in the town; and that three companies more, of 100 men each, were expected. Major General Campbell arrived at Inverary on the 21st of December, and proposed, in a day or two after, to march 600 men thence, to join General Blakeney at Stirling. At Campbelton 450 men were raised, and ready to march for his Majesty's service on one day's notice. By the 7th of January, there were 700 men at Dumbarton, consisting of three companies of Loudon's regiment, one of Lord John Murray's, both  
highland

highland regiments, and eight of Argyleshire militia; and Lieutenant Colonel John Campbell came there that day, to take the command of them. Price's and Ligonier's regiments of foot, some of Hamilton's and Ligonier's (formerly Gardiner's) regiments of dragoons, upwards of 500 Glasgow militia, and 160 of those of Paisley, were at and about Stirling guarding the passages of the Forth; but, on the approach of the highland army from England, moved thence to Edinburgh on the 23d of December, leaving General Blakeney with the garrison in the Castle, and 400 Stirling militia in the town.

As there were few or no regular forces in Edinburgh when the news came of the return of the highland army into Scotland, the inhabitants were under no small apprehensions lest they should direct their march thither. Some of the publick offices and valuable effects were secured in the castle upon the 22d and 23d of December. On the 25th, Price's and Ligonier's foot, and Hamilton's and Ligonier's dragoons arrived in town from Stirling about the same time; but these took shipping at Borrowstonness, and came to Leith by water.—It was at this time reported, that all the troops and the militia were to march for Berwick. Horses were provided on the 23d, and secured in the castle; in order, as was supposed, to transport their baggage: but they were discharged next day, and the troops did not move from Edinburgh.—Notice was now got, that the rebels, having divided into several bodies, had all directed their march Westward: and that the first division of General Hawley's army were set out from Newcastle for Edinburgh: which in good measure eased the inhabitants of their fears.—Mean time General Blakeney, having the rebels so near him on both hands, used the precaution to cut one of the arches of Stirling bridge.

Soon after their arrival at Glasgow, the rebels made a demand upon that city of 12,000 shirts, 6000 bonnets, 6000 pair of shoes, 6000 pair of stockings, and 6000 waistcoats, amounting to near 10,000 l. Sterling in value. They likewise required lists of the promoters of the fund for raising a regiment in that city for the service

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vice of the government, the sums subscribed by each, and the officers who commanded it: but this the Provost absolutely refused to comply with. A contribution in money was threatened to be imposed besides. About the end of September, when the highland army was at Edinburgh, they had made a demand of 15,000 l. upon the city of Glasgow; but were prevailed upon to lessen it to 5500 l.; and it was now feared the city would be the more hardly dealt with, for having armed against the rebels, notwithstanding their lenity on that occasion. They assessed Provost Buchanan in 500 l. because of his having promoted the new levies on the behalf of the government, and were very outrageous against all those who appeared zealous and active in raising them, by plundering and burning their houses, destroying their goods and furniture, and (where they could not carry off their provisions) by spoiling them in a most unheard-of manner; which, far from having the effect the rebels proposed, greatly increased the spirit against them. They raised 500 l. at Paisly, levied the publick money at Renfrew and other places; and made demands a good way round. Some of these, however, as we were informed, were never complied with, nor rigorously insisted on; particularly the following order, addressed, *To the Commissioners of Supply for the shire of Linlithgow.*

*Charles Prince of Wales, &c. Regent of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging.*

**F**INDING it necessary to have an immediate supply of horses, we are resolved to raise them the most equal way, laying them upon the different counties of this our ancient kingdom of Scotland, according to their respective valuations. You are therefore hereby commanded and required, to deliver us, on or before the 16th day of January next, where we shall happen to be for the time, twenty five horses, of the value of 10 l. Sterling each, which is to be ascertained by proper persons, to be named by us for that purpose; otherwise to pay to our Secretary, for our use, 10 l. Sterling for each horse.



horse. And, for your relief, you are impowered to meet, and lay a tax upon the whole heritors, and others of the county, in proportion, to their valued rents to the extent of this demand: which you are to comply with, upon pain of military execution, to be done against your goods and effects. Given at Glasgow, the 30th day of December 1745.

*By his Highness's command*

J. MURRAY,

After the troops that guarded the fords of the Forth moved to Edinburgh, Glengyle, with the help of floats, (the boats being all destroyed), passed that river at the Frew, and placed a guard on the South-side. Some hundreds of the rebels passed the Forth in their way to Glasgow when the army lay there; and the Duke of Perth, with a party of about 150, went from that place on the 28th of December, and was reported to go home. Small parties were continually passing that way, whether deserting, or marching to Perth, was not known. The rebels gave out, that they were to attack Stirling; and, on the 30th, the cannon from Perth were moved towards that place; amongst which there were two pieces of eighteen pounders, two of twelve, two of sixteen, all brass, besides iron cannon, and a large quantity of powder and ball.

Another visit of the rebels was expected at Edinburgh. The inhabitants therefore, so soon as they were informed that the first division of General Hawley's army were on their march from Newcastle, took advice of the Gentlemen of the army; and the following resolutions were agreed to in a council of war about the 28th of December:—

1. That orders be given to lay in immediately a sufficient quantity of provisions.
2. That a corps of able-bodied men from the country be forthwith brought into the city, and added to the regular forces and militia.
3. That the cannon on travelling-carriages, harnesses for horses, cartridges for the cannon, primers &c. be provided.
4. That the proper works be thrown up before the different ports, and the foot of the several closses;

and

and that all the ports that shall be judged usefess, be immediately built up. 5. That proper communications be made, for the ready junction of troops round the walls. 6. That artillery-tumblers be forthwith loaded with ball and cartridges, to be sent where there may be occasion. 7. That a quantity of wheel barrows pickaxes, shovels, and other necessary artillery stores be provided, together with horses to draw the train.——Next day a paper was read in the churches, importing, That it had been resolved in a council of war, in case the rebels should approach, to defend the city against them; and therefore desiring such of the inhabitants as chose to stay in town, to lay in provisions for five or six days.

Mean while express after express was sent to the rebels by their friends about Edinburgh, to hasten their march thither. News came to town on the 30th of December, that they had called in their cloathing half-made, and packed it up: which was taken for a signal of their march; and thereupon the country militia were called into the city. Pursuant to a recommendation by the Lord Justice-Clerk, lists of the able-bodied men proper to be intrusted with arms had been made up by the heritors of several counties, with the assistance of the parish ministers. A small corps of them accordingly came into town on the evening of the 30th, and a considerable number in a day or two after. Several Ministers marched with their parishioners, some of them in arms. The volunteers of the associate congregations of Edinburgh and Dalkeith, seceders from the established church, kept in a body by themselves, and had proper colours, with this inscription, *For religion, the covenants, King, and kingdoms.* Their ministers did not march with them. All had arms and ammunition delivered them out of the King's magazine in the castle. The works about the city were likewise begun, and preparations made for a vigorous defence.

In a few days, however, the first division of the troops arrived, which rendered the continuing of the works unnecessary. A battalion of the Scots Royal and Battaillon's foot having been provided in horses by the Gentle-

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men and farmers of the Lothains, &c. to expedite their march, reached Edinburgh on the 2d of January; Fleming's and Blackney's foot, on the 3d; Major General Huske, on the 4th; General Hawley, commander in chief, on the 6th; Wolf's and Cholmondeley's foot, on the 7th; Howard's (the Old Buffs) and Monro's foot, on the 8th; and Barrel's and Pultney's foot, on the 10th. — The troops were entertained at Dunbar, Aberlady, &c. by the counties of the Lothains. Each soldier got a pound of beef, a pound of bread, a glass of Scots spirits, and a bottle of ale. They were likewise entertained at Edinburgh, by the city; where they were received with illuminations, and other demonstrations of joy. Windows not illuminated were broke by the populace. Empty houses suffered considerably on this occasion. Some of the troops were billeted in the city, suburbs and Leith; but the greatest part were quartered in public buildings and empty houses; the inhabitants furnishing them blankets by direction of the Constables.

On the 3d of January the rebels marched for Stirling, one column by Kilsyth, and another by Cumbernauld, The whole of the shirts, &c. imposed on Glasgow, not being made when they marched, Messrs. Archibald Coates and George Carmichael, Merchants, were carried along as hostages, for security that what they had not got should be delivered. Next day they sent for printing materials and workmen; which were accordingly provided for them.

The Pretender's son lay at Mr. Campbell's of Shawfield, near Kilsyth, on the 3d. \*Mr. Campbell's steward was ordered to provide every thing, and promised payment; but was told next morning, that the bill should be allowed to his master at accounting for the rents of Kilsyth, being a forfeited estate. Next day, the army advanced towards Stirling, and were cantoned at Denny, Bannockburn, and St. Ninian's. A strong party of their best men were detached to Falkirk, for a rear-guard. The Pretender's son took up his quarters at Bannockburn, the house of Sir Hugh Paterfson. Lord George Murray and John Drummond were at Alloa on the 4th, concerning



concerting how to bring over the cannon from Perth, by floats. They afterwards surveyed the passage at Cambus, to see if it could be done more conveniently there; and then went to Dumblain, leaving 100 men at Alloa.

On the 8th, the rebels got into Stirling, the inhabitants opening the gates, as the city was not defensible. The militia made their escape by small parcels. Their officers with all the arms went into the castle; where, as was assured; General Blakeney was well provided with men and provisions. At this time the rebels had no heavy cannon but two twelve pounders, which, with great labour, they had brought round by the Frew. Immediately after entering Stirling, they sent off three four-pounders to the hill of Airth, to prevent the King's ships getting farther up the river, and to cover the passage of the rest of their heavy cannon, then lying near Alloa.—Next day the Pretender's son reviewed the troops at Falkirk, which amounted to 1685 men.

Some days before this, two sloops of war had sailed up from Leith road, to guard the passages, so as to prevent, or at least retard the rebels getting their cannon, &c. from Alloa.—On the 8th, General Hawley sent up some boats armed, and a small vessel with cannon, manned with 300 men, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Leighton, to destroy all the works which they had made to cover the passage. Captain Faulkener, in the Vulture sloop, one of the two first mentioned, being arrived at Inverkeithing road, sent a cutter and boats before; who, upon their arrival in Kincardine road, saw a brig come out of Airth, which the rebels had seized in order to transport their cannon from Alloa. Next morning, the 8th, Captain Faulkener arrived in Kincardine road likewise; and receiving intelligence of the brig's having come out of Airth the day before, and of there being two more vessels there, liable to be seized likewise by the rebels, he sent the boats manned and armed, to burn them; which they effectually performed, without the loss of a man, tho' the rebels fired some platoons from the town. While this was doing, the tide fell so low, that he could not return to the

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road

road that night: upon which the rebels in Airth opened a battery of three pieces of cannon, and in the morning began to play upon him very unexpectedly; but did him no damage. The fire from the sloop dismounted two of the rebels' cannon, killed their principal engineer, as was reported, with some others, and drove them all out of the town, and from their battery. After which, they drew off their cannon to Elphinston; and having got one more from Falkirk, with a reinforcement of 3 or 400 men, who went off in a great hurry on the 10th in the morning, they erected a four-gun battery on the point of Elphinston, in order to guard the pass.

Colonel Leighton, with 300 men, came to the assistance of the ships on the 9th. It was agreed to attack the brig at Alloa; which, according to accounts afterwards received had on board two large cannon and ammunition. There were five more cannon at Alloa; three of which were mounted on the key. Accordingly, 50 soldiers in a large boat, with the ship's boats manned and armed, were ordered up the river, to lie all night a mile above Alloa, to prevent the brig's going up that night; and Captain Faulkener and Colonel Leighton resolved to go up in the morning to attack the town, and take the brig from under the guns of Alloa. All this might have been executed; but the boats, after they had passed the town, unluckily grounded; which discovered the design. The rebels immediately beat to arms, fired from right to left very near half a mile, and obliged the boats to retreat, with the loss of one man, and another's leg shot off. The brig's going up that tide was however prevented. It was resolved to get up next morning with the ships; and the soldiers were landed at Kincardine, in order to attack the rebels by land. But, while this was doing, the brig took the opportunity of sailing up the river next tide.

The battery which the rebels had erected at Elphinston was very briskly attacked by the Pearl and Vulture sloops, within musket-shot, and three of their cannon dismounted: but one of the sloops having had her cable cut asunder by one of their cannon shot, she was, by the  
strength

strength of the ebb tide, forced from her station; and the two pilots in the other (Morison of Leith, and Adams of Airth), having each lost a leg (by one ball, of which they died in a week or two after), they were obliged to quit the battery, and give up the enterprize; tho' not without retarding the rebels measures for attacking Stirling castle. In this whole affair, only two sailors were killed, and ten or twelve wounded; but the land forces under Colonel Leighton received no damage.

On the 8th, the troops in and about Perth received orders to hold themselves in readiness to march to Stirling; and on the 11th, in the morning, the Macdonalds, under Barisdale, and Moidart's brother, set out for that place; as did the Frasers, under the Master of Lovat, in the afternoon. The Mackintoshes and Farquharsons were to march next day. At this time there were only 200 Gordons at Perth, but between 4 and 500 more were expected in a day or two, together with 400 French that had landed some time before. Two small sloops were then lately come to Perth from Dundee, with powder, ball, pickaxes, shovels, biscuit, wine, and spirits, 15 swivel-guns, and 500 firelocks, brought from France for a regiment to be levied thereabouts for Major Nairn.

By the 12th the rebels, having got all their cannon over the Forth, had broken ground between the church of Stirling and a large house called Mar's work, for erecting a battery there against the castle. The ports of the town were shut up, and guards placed at all the outlets, to prevent people coming in for, or going out with intelligence to the King's troops. By the 14th, they had got, together two pieces of cannon of sixteen pounds, two of eight, and three of three, and were expecting four pieces more by water for their battery. They had also a great number of fascines; but had not been able to plant their cannon, General Blakeney having fired upon them several times from the castle and demolished their works. Several expresses had been sent to their troops in Perthshire to hasten their march towards Stirling. Their numbers, however, on the South



side of the Forth could not exceed 6000, supposing them to have been joined by the greatest part of those from Perthshire, and that they had lost no men by desertion; whereas it was assured they had lost a great many. They had about a 1000 more, which were cantoned in the North, including about 400 French, which lay at Montrose guarding the Hazard sloop and their magazines.

A considerable army was now assembled at Edinburgh, consisting of twelve battalions of foot and two regiments of dragoons, regular troops; the Edinburgh and Glasgow regiments, and the Paisly militia, irregulars. General Hawley sent home the country militia that had been called into the city from the Lothians, &c. with orders to be ready at a call. When the march of the army was resolved upon, an advertisement was published by the committee of the subscribers for the Edinburgh regiment, dated January 10. importing. That it had been represented to them, that it was absolutely necessary for the publick service, that his Majesty's forces quartered in and about the city should, in their march that cold season, have the use of the blankets which had been furnished them; and therefore desiring, that such persons as had given blankets, and were not willing they should be so employed, might intimate a demand of them back again, by signing a paper which was to lie in the council-chamber on the 11th and 13th between ten and twelve o'clock before noon; that otherwise it would be presumed they agreed their blankets should be so employed.

On the 13th in the morning, five old regiments and the Glasgow regiment, foot, with the remains of Hamilton's and Gardiner's dragoons, under the command of Major General Huske, marched Westward, from Edinburgh.——Among other proofs of its loyalty, that city gave one upon this occasion; for of near 3000 pair of blankets furnished to the soldiers by the inhabitants, few or none were required to be returned, notwithstanding the advertisement above mentioned; on the contrary, a further supply was offered if necessary.——The same morning, about 1100 of the rebels, under the command of

of Lord George Murray and Lord Elcho, marched Eastward from Falkirk, to carry off what provisions they could meet with. But, soon after their arrival at Linlithgow, Major General Huske with the troops appeared near the same place. Upon his approach, the rebels retired towards Falkirk, without having been able to pick up any thing; and with such precipitation that he could not come up with them; whereupon he took post at Linlithgow.—Other accounts say, that the rebels carried off with them what forage and provisions they could find.—Next morning, three regiments more marched from Edinburgh, for Borrowstounness, to be at hand to support Major General Huske. The remainder of the troops marched on the 15th. The artillery, consisting of ten pieces of brass cannon, followed the same day; as did General Hawley on the 16th, with Cobham's dragoons. This corps had come to Dalkeith a day before, and passed the city that morning without halting. Along with the army marched William Thornton, Esq; with a company, called the Yorkshire Blues, raised, maintained and commanded by himself; as did likewise several other volunteers; among whom were some clergymen.—The Earl of Hopeton gave twelve guineas to each regiment of foot, and twelve guineas to the two regiments of dragoons, to buy beef.—The Edinburgh regiment and city-guard were the only troops left in town.—On the 14th, the whole body of the rebels, as well those who were driven from Linlithgow, as others who had marched out of Stirling, were all returning to that place in the greatest panick and confusion.

Major General Huske, with eight regiments, marched from Linlithgow on the morning of the 16th, to Falkirk; where he was joined by 1000 Argyleshire highlanders, under Lieutenant Colonel Campbell. Besides this corps under his son, Major General Campbell had 1000 men in arms about Inverary, guarding the passes.

On the 17th the King's army and the rebels came to an engagement; of which there were several accounts.

The first published was that sent to be inserted in the Edinburgh news-papers of the 20th, and is as follows.

“*Edinburgh, Jan. 20.* Thursday last, the army under General Hawley, having assembled near Falkirk, incamped to the Westward of that place; and about one o'clock on Friday, there were repeated informations of the intelligence that morning received, that the rebels were marching by the South-side of the Torwood, toward Dunipace. These accounts being confirmed, the army was immediately drawn up in form of battle, and marched forward to meet them,

The action began half an hour after three. The dragoons made the attack with the appearance of great resolution; but, upon receiving the first fire, reeled towards the right, and many of them fled. This, with a violent storm of wind and rain, which blew full in the face of the troops, put the foot of the left in great disorder.— This confusion being immediately perceived by the officers on the right, they, without loss of time, marched to stop the progress of the rebels: which they effectually did; and, by their good conduct, and the alertness of some corps, drove them, by a continued fire, from the field, with the utmost precipitation.

In the mean time the disordered infantry was rallied.— The rebels gave them nothing to do.— The right wing was entire masters of the field, where the whole of the troops continued till it was dark, and a full hour after all firing had ceased. But, finding that the rain had greatly spoiled their arms and ammunition, it was judged proper to pursue their advantage no farther; and, for want of provisions and ammunition, the army marched that night to Linlithgow, and continued its march next day to this city.

The loss of the regular troops, by the best computation, does not exceed 200; and by all accounts, the rebels had at least lost double the number.

The regiments who distinguished themselves, were Barrell's and Ligonier's foot.”

It was then impossible to give a particular account  
of



of the loss of the officers, as it was uncertain whether amissing killed, or in the enemy's hands.

The accounts published in the *London Gazette* were as follows, viz.

"*London, Jan. 17.* Lieutenant General Hawley having assembled all the King's troops together near Falkirk, in order to attack the rebels, and raise the siege of Stirling castle; that morning their army made motion, and advanced towards him; whereupon he made the necessary dispositions for receiving them, and marched to a place called Falkirk moor, about an English mile to the South-West of Falkirk, to give them battle. He was himself with the left wing, and Major General Huske with the right, which had greatly the advantage of the left wing of the rebels. At the beginning of the engagement the horse belonging to the artillery ran away, as did some part of the infantry in the same wing; General Hawley retreated in good order to his camp at Falkirk, as did Major General Huske with the right wing. The enemy did not venture to pursue them, which was greatly owing to the gallant behaviour of two squadrons of Cobham's dragoons, and four battalions of the right wing. There were about 300 of the King's troops missing, and some officers were killed, but the particulars were not yet known. The officers did their duty, and led the men on with great courage. There were seven pieces of cannon missing. The loss on the part of the rebels was not certain, but it was thought to be considerable. A very great storm of wind and rain arose in the beginning of the engagement, which, beating upon the faces of the King's troops, was very disadvantageous to them. After the retreat, General Hawley had determined to remain in the camp at Falkirk; but the weather proving extremely bad, and having advice that the rebels were pushing to get between him and Edinburgh, he marched and took post there.

We hear that the rebels were retiring Westward from the place of action towards Stirling."

"*Whitehall, Jan. 23.* This day at noon an express arrived from Lieutenant General Hawley, with letters of

of the 19th from Edinburgh, containing the following farther particulars of the action upon the 17th near Falkirk.

The whole army being assembled, and Cobham's dragoons being arrived early on the morning of the 17th, it was resolved to march the next day and attack the rebels: who, by all accounts, lay with their main body in the inclosures near Torwood. But, by the report of several persons who were sent out to reconnoitre, they were observed to be in motion early in the morning, (as they had also been the 16th): but it was not confirmed that they were in full march against us till about one in the afternoon; when they were seen at three miles distance, marching in two columns towards the South, to some rising grounds upon a moor near Falkirk. Upon which our troops got under arms, and formed immediately in the front of the camp, and bent their march towards the same ground to which it was apprehended the rebels were going, being a large mile on the left of the camp. No sooner were the troops got thither, but we saw the rebels moving up, their right extending Southwards. As there was a morass of boggy ground upon our left, so that their left was pretty near opposite to our centre. The dragoons were posted upon the left, and our foot was formed in two lines, part upon plain ground, and the rest upon a declivity. When all was formed, and our first line within 100 yards of the rebels, orders were given for the lines to advance, and a body of the dragoons to attack them sword-in-hand. They accordingly marched forwards: but, upon the rebels giving them a fire, they gave ground; and great part of the foot of both lines did the same, after making an irregular fire; except the two regiments of Barrel and Ligonier, under the command of Brigadier Cholmondeley; which rallied immediately, and being afterwards attacked by the rebels, fairly drove them back, and put them to flight. Whilst this was transacting, a body of the foot, by the care of Major General Huske, formed at some distance in the rear of these two regiments; which the rebels seeing, durst not advance: and about the same  
time

time Brigadier Mordaunt rallied the scattered battalions into their several corps, in which he was greatly assisted by the officers, and pretty near formed them.

For some time before the army moved forwards, there was a violent storm of rain and wind; to which we may in some measure impute our misfortune; for it hindered the men from seeing before them, and consequently the rebels had the advantage of us greatly in that particular. Besides, as it rained also before that, many of the firelocks were so wet, that it was believed not above one in five that were attempted to be fired, went off. Our loss was very small, the greatest being that of the officers; several of whom, being left by their men, were lost: and we have reason to believe that of the rebels to be very considerable, by the report of some who were upon the field. It was a misfortune that we could not get up our artillery to us: for as it had rained heavily in the night, and the 17th in the morning; and having a steep hill to ascend, and the horses but bad, they could not get forward: and when we returned to our camp, we found the Captain of the train had abandoned it, and the drivers had run off with the horses; which obliged us to leave some pieces of cannon behind us. The grenadiers of Barrel's regiment drew down one to the camp, and horses were found at Falkirk to bring away three of them.

The evening being excessive rainy, it was thought proper to march the troops to Linlithgow that night, and put them under cover; otherwise we should have continued in our camp, being masters of the field of battle, and Brigadier Mordaunt was ordered to take post there. When we came to strike our tents, we found that many of the drivers had run off with the horses: upon which the General gave orders, that what tents were left should be burnt; which was done.

During the time the army was on its march to meet the rebels, a body of them, with some colours, passed the river of Carron, towards the right of the camp, with a design, as may be apprehended, to attack it: but the

Argyleshire



Argyleshire men, being posted in front of it, kept them in awe, so that they prevented their advancing.

The Glasgow regiment was posted at some farm-houses, where it was thought they might be of use when the action begun; and remained formed there, notwithstanding they saw that the dragoons had given way, and part of the foot.

These letters also add, that it had been resolved that the army should remain at Linlithgow, whither it had retreated upon the 17th at night: but, upon examination, it was found that the troops had no powder that would take fire, from the excessive rain for twenty four hours before; and thereupon a resolution was taken, upon the 18th in the morning, to march to Edinburgh and the places adjacent; where the whole army arrived the afternoon about four o'clock."

"*Edinburgh, Jan. 19.* The rebels, by all accounts, lost many more men than the King's forces; and could not improve the advantages they had at the beginning of the action, but were driven back by, and fled before a handful of our army; and we remained masters of the field; tho', by the inclemency of the weather, and want of provisions, night coming on, our army was obliged to march to Linlithgow, and thereby abandon what cannon and tents they could not find horses to carry off.

Part of the rebel-army were returned to Stirling, and the remainder were yesterday night at Falkirk, and that morning they sent to bespeak quarters at Linlithgow.

Sir Robert Monro was wounded and taken prisoner.

Of the rebels, Lochiel, Lord Perth and his brother, were said to be wounded, and Lochiel's brother was killed, and a Major, Mackdonald, taken prisoner."

*Edinburgh, Jan. 20.* As yet we have heard but of 30 of our men who were made prisoners by the rebels, and carried to Stirling; one half of which belonged to the Glasgow Regiment: and we have also an account of three officers wounded. The others who were missing, it was feared were killed; particularly Sir Robert Monro, Lieutenant Colonels Whitney, Powell, and Biggar; tho'

tho' as yet we have not absolute certainty, and cannot form a list. 170 men, supposed to have been lost, got on board a vessel at Borrowstounness, and came in here this day: The loss of the rebels was, by all accounts, considerable; but the number of their killed and wounded was not known. The country-people about Falkirk report, that six people of note of their army have been buried in that neighbourhood, and many of their officers attended at those funerals. Sullivan was said to be one of their slain."

"*Edinburgh, Jan. 24.* Captain Thornton, who commanded the Yorkshire volunteers in the late action near Falkirk, and was taken prisoner by the rebels, with his Lieutenant and 17 of his men, has made his escape from them, and came in here yesterday; as did also 25 of our soldiers, who also escaped out of the church at Falkirk. Most of the prisoners in the rebels possession, were men of the Glasgow regiment, and country-people who were present at the action out of curiosity."—Mr. Thornton was carefully concealed at Falkirk after the battle, and made his escape in disguise.

On the other hand, the rebels boast of this action, as if they had got the victory. They printed the following gasconading account of it at Bannockburn.

"*Falkirk, Jan. 17.* Early this morning, the Prince Regent (having left the Duke of Perth, with several battalions, to push on the siege of the castle of Stirling) drew up his army in line of battle, a mile East from Bannockburn, which was the head quarters; being informed that the enemy, who were incamped at four miles distance, a little below the town of Falkirk, were advancing to give him battle. But finding, about mid-day, they did not move, he resolved, in a council of war, to march, and attack them. And immediately Lord George Murray marched at the head of the army in two columns, holding above the Torwood; as the high-road leading from Stirling to Falkirk, was too narrow. The army passed the water of Carron at Dunipace, the two columns keeping always an equal distance, of about two hundred yards. They were then in sight of the enemy,

enemy, being about two miles and a half distant. At the same time Lord John Drummond, who commanded the left wing, had gone with most of the horse, to reconnoitre the enemy, and made a motion, as intending to march the highway thro' the Torwood.

The two columns continued their march without the least stop, and went up the hill of Falkirk, to take the advantage of the wind and rising ground. The enemy were perceived to be in motion from the time we past the water, and were marching up the hill. Their cavalry, being in front, and a good way before the foot, had now taken possession of a rising ground opposite to our right, and within half cannon-shot; upon which we immediately formed, being betwixt three and four o'clock in the afternoon. As it was believed their foot were forming close behind them, orders were given by his Royal Highness for the first line to march softly forwards, (the second line keeping the usual distance), to drive them from that eminence; which was done accordingly, with the utmost regularity and exactness; for when they were within pistol-shot, the dragoons bore down towards us at the trot, in order to break us; then our men gave part of their fire *à propos*, that they entirely broke them, doing great execution.

So soon as our men had fired, and charged their muskets again which they did in their march), they advanced to attack the infantry: but the ground was so unequal, being interpersed with risings and hallows, that they could not perceive what was doing on their left, only heard the firing upon that side.

Our left not being fully formed when the attack began on the right, a considerable body of the enemy's horse came up also to attack them; but, receiving part of their fire, they broke and run off. Their infantry coming in upon that side with six piece of cannon\*, were attacked by some battalions; who, receiving the fire of the enemy, went in, sword-in-hand, and drove them down the hill with great impetuosity and slaughter. But, not perceiving our right, (by reason of the unevenness of the ground

\* The artillery never was got up.



ground), they made a stop till such time as the two wings should join to the centre, and the second line come up.

His Royal Highness, who was mostly in the centre, (attended by the French Ambassador), and whose attention was turned to all parts, seeing that the enemy had outlined us on the left wing, sent Brigadier Stapleton and the piquets of the Irish brigade, with some other troops, to take up that space upon the left. Then the whole army marched down towards the enemy; who were retreating on all sides in great disorder: but, by reason of the unevenness of the ground, and night coming on, with great wind and rain, they could not overtake them, as they were positively ordered to keep their ranks. Had the enemy staid a quarter of an hour longer on the ground, they must have inevitably been cut to pieces: however, they went off with the utmost precipitation; and were just got to the East end of the town of Falkirk, when Lord John Drummond entered on that side, Lord George Murray in the middle, and Lochiel in the West end. Lord John Drummond was slightly wounded in the arm by a musket-shot, at the end of the town, by one of the soldiers whom he was taking prisoner.

We took all their cannon consisting of two large ones, five field pieces, all of brass, three iron cannon\*, several mortars\* and coehorns\*, with a great number of shells\*, all their ammunition, wagons, tents, (which we found almost all standing, few of them having been consumed by the fire which they had themselves set to their camp), three standarts, two stand of colours, a kettledrum, many small arms, their baggage, clothing; and generally every thing they had not burnt or destroyed. We made above 700† prisoners, besides officers; and we reckon above 600† were killed in the field of battle.

L

battle,

\* These articles were mentioned in no other account.

† 'Tis pity the publick has not been favoured with a list in the Gazette, as was expected, and is usual on such occasions; for 'tis probable the numbers here are exaggerated, even allowing many of the prisoners to have been country-people who were present out of curiosity.

battle, besides what we were told were drowned in fording the river Avon.

We had not above forty men killed on our side; among which were two or three Captains and some subaltern officers. There was near double that number wounded; amongst whom was young Lochiel, on the ankle; but so slightly, that it did not hinder him from marching in pursuit of the enemy, to the town of Falkirk. His brother was likewise wounded.

His Royal Highness's first care, early next morning, was, to send up to the field of battle, to cause bury the dead, as well those of the enemy, as our own people: and some of their officers, that could be distinguished, (of which it is said are Sir Robert Monro and Colonel Whitney), were brought down to the town, to be decently interred, in the same manner as our own officers were.

Had not the night come on, and so stormy, his Royal Highness's army would have got between them and Linlithgow, and would have utterly destroyed them. All the officers and private men behaved with invincible courage; and the order which they kept in their marching and attack, surprised even the officers who had been in the former and present wars abroad.

The Irish officers were of vast use, in going thro' the different posts of the army, and assisting in the various dispositions that were made.

An anonymous account related the action thus.

"On Thursday, January 16. General Hawley, with ten pieces of cannon from 1 to 6 pounders, joined the King's army, incamped to the West of the town of Falkirk. On Friday the 17th early the rebel-army were perceived, and their colours plainly discovered in the Torwood, about three miles West of General Hawley's camp. They made a feint of marching by the North side of the Torwood, to attack the King's army; which was then, about eleven o'clock, drawn up in order of battle, ready to receive them. But the General, finding the rebels did not advance, and that their colours still remained unmoved in the Torwood; and perceiving, as he

he thought, their main body still there, he, about one o'clock allowed the troops to dine in their camp.

The General having some time after got intelligence, that the rebels had, under cover of the rising ground, stole to the Southward, and were making directly, by Dunipace, to the top of the hill above the camp, and not then at a mile and a half's distance from it; he immediately ordered the three regiments of dragoons to march from the left as quickly as possible, to take possession of the top of the hill; and in the mean time commanded the army to be formed a little to the South of the village of Falkirk, and ordered the cannon up the hill after the dragoons.

The young Pretender, perceiving the dragoons intention, detached about 1500 or 2000 of the clans, to prevent their taking possession of the ground, and to form the right of his first line; which they very quickly did; the main body of the rebel-army being still a mile and a half behind.

It being now after three o'clock, and General Hawley not having got his cannon placed, or the army fully formed, he ordered the three regiments of dragoons, which had thus advanced from the left, to attack the detachment of the rebels, and keep them in play untill he got all in order. Which the dragoons very briskly did: but, having received a very smart fire from the detachment of the rebels, and not being supported, were repulsed, and fled back upon the left wing of the troops, and put them in great disorder. This being perceived by Lord George Murray and Lochiel, who commanded the said detachment of the rebels, they very judiciously improved this advantage, came boldly down the hill, gave the left of the King's army a very smart fire in front and flank, threw away their guns, drew their swords, and broke them sword-in-hand. Whereupon the whole front-line of the army, and all the rear line also, except Barrel's regiment, gave way; and the people that were driving the horses of the cannon, cut the traces, dropt the cannon, and run quite away with the horse; by

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which



which means all the cannon were left, except three of the smallest, which happened to be behind the rear-line,

Barrel's regiment in the rear of the right wing, and the Old Buffs and Ligonier's in the *corps de reserve*, having never been attacked, and continuing in their ground, were by General Huske formed into a line, and remained in that posture for a considerable time, until those of the rebels who were pursuing the left wing, were returning up the hill to the main body, which had not yet reached the field of battle. Then these three regiments fired by platoons upon such small parties of the rebels as were returning from the left. At last, a body of about 400 of the rebels thus returning, wheeled about, and advanced towards these three regiments; who received them with constant platoons. This body of the rebels, having no guns to return their fire, they having thrown them away at the beginning of the pursuit, were obliged to retire up the hill to the main body: from which there was immediately 800 detached to support them. The three regiments perceiving this, retired immediately \* to their camp, and soon after to Falkirk, and from thence followed the remainder of the army to Linlithgow that night; leaving the field of battle, seven of their cannon, their whole ammunition, their dead, wounded, camp and tents, with such of their baggage as was in the field, to the rebels.

General Hawley returned next day to Edinburgh with the army. The rebels continued the night of the battle in General Hawley's camp, and town of Falkirk. A great number came next day to Linlithgow.

The King's army consisted of 12 regiments of foot, 3 of dragoons, 1200 Campbells, 1000 other volunteers, and 800 trained Glasgow militia; in all about 10,000.

There

\* On the contrary, it appears by the Gazette account, that the rebels durst not advance, and that the King's troops were masters of the field of battle; so that it would seem this detachment of the rebels did not advance till the three regiments had retired.

There was not above 2000 of the rebels engaged, and their main body never came fully in view †. It was said they had above 63 killed, and above 40 wounded. Major Mackdonald, cousin to Keppoch, who pursued the retreat too far, was the only prisoner. It was said there were betwixt 30 and 40 of the King's officers killed; and in that number Colonel Sir Robert Monro, Lieutenant Colonels Biggar, Powell, and Whitney, 14 Captains, and a great number of Lieutenants, Ensigns, and other officers. One Captain and two subalterns of the rebels killed, Lord John Drummond slightly wounded in the arm, and Lochiel slightly wounded in the heel.

The King's army was drawn up in two lines, and a *corps de reserve*. In the first line, four battalions, *viz.* the Royal Scots, Pultney's Cholmondeley's, and Wolf's. In the second line, five battalions, *viz.* Barrel's, Monro's, Fleming's, Price's, and Blakeney's; and the Glasgow militia on the left of all. In the *corps de reserve*, the Buffs, Battereau's, Ligonier's, and the Argyleshire volunteers. On the left, three regiments of dragoon's, *viz.* Cobham's, Ligonier's, and Hamilton's, with the cannon."

The disposition here made of the King's army was very probably wrong. We have looked at different plans, and have reason to believe, that the position of the several corps in both armies, (*i. e.*) of the dragoons as they engaged, of the foot as formed when the dragoons engaged, of the rebels as they moved up the hill and engaged on the highest ground, of the party of the rebels moving towards the baggage of the King's army, and of the highlanders under Lieutenant Colonel Campbell drawn up to oppose that party, was as represented p. 126. The line of dragoons was pretty near due South and North: the front-line of the foot was likewise

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straight

† The rebels, in their own account, acknowledge, that both their right and their left were engaged; so that, if any of their troops did not come fully in view, it would seem to have been only the second line of their left, for whose coming up it was indeed said that a stop was made.





straight, it formed an angle at the South end with the line of dragoons, and inclined North East; the space between the two lines of foot, widened towards the right. The two lines of the rebels are represented as parallel to each other, and likewise the King's army; but the left of their second line was said not to have come up. The left of the rebel-army did not stretch so far North by a good space as the right of the King's, nor did the left of the King's army stretch so far South as the right of the rebels. Some place Glengary on the left of Clanronald, join Glenbucket with Appin, and with some other alterations make the number of the rebels 9260. In the numbers, we have followed the plan published by John Millan at London, February 1746, which makes them 8450; and even this is a good deal higher than what was said, from the *Gazette*. The same plan makes the number of the King's army (including the highlanders under Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, computed at 1325, and the militia under the Earl of Home, computed at 1000) 15,545; which is certainly a vast deal too high.

Doctor Duncan Monro, physician, who went along with the army purely out of brotherly love, was unfortunately killed, with his brother Sir Robert, in the action.

Glengary's second son, who commanded the Glengary men, was killed in Falkirk, a few days after the battle, by the accidental firing of one of the rebels pieces.

In the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* were the following two paragraphs, viz. *January 21*. We should have noticed in our last, that the regiment of Old Buffs was one of those that stood firm in the late battle, and the last that left the field."—" *January 23*. We are obliged in justice to acquaint the publick, that the regiment of Brigadier General Price formed on the left of General Barrel's, and was one of those that obliged the rebels to retreat with precipitation."

On the 19th a court-martial was ordered for the trial of some officers and men who behaved ill in the action at Falkirk, of which Brigadier Mordaunt was President.

The

The proceedings began at Edinburgh next morning, and the court sat several days. Some private men of the foot were condemned to be shot for cowardice.—Two centinels sentenced to be shot at Edinburgh on the 27th, for throwing away their arms, and running off before the action began, got a reprove the night before. Others who misbehaved, were severely whipped.

Francis Forbes of the Royal, John Irvine of Ligonier's foot, David Welch of Pultney's, and Henry Macmannus of Hamilton's dragoons, all Irishmen, were hanged in the Grass-market of Edinburgh on the 24th, pursuant to a sentence of a court-martial. The first three had deserted to the French in Flanders, and were taken on board the Lewis XV, coming to Scotland, the fourth had insisted with the rebels after the battle at Preston.

The Pretender's son marched to Stirling on the afternoon of the 18th. That day the castle there was twice summoned by the rebels to surrender; once in the morning, and again in the afternoon: but General Blakeney's answer was, That he had always been looked upon as a man of honour, and that the rebels should find he would die so. The siege was therefore continued; but proceeded very slowly. General Blakeney fired so often upon the men at work on the batteries, and with so much execution, that the rebels could not get any of their own people to go near them; for which reason the Irish brigade, and Drummond's regiment from France, were ordered to go upon that service. But about this time, according to the report of deserters from the said brigade and regiment, there were not 200 men left of those who came over to Scotland from Flanders.

Mean time the rebels were in great distress for want of provisions. The 25 soldiers who escaped out of the church of Falkirk reported, that it was with the greatest difficulty they could get any provisions whilst they were in custody, the greatest part of what had been ordered for their use had been forced from them by those who were their guards. General Hawley distressed the rebels all he could, by sending out parties from Edinburgh towards the West; and the King's sloops burnt several of the

the boats which were employed in bringing over their meal, &c. from Alloa. On the 28th another sloop (the Vulture, Captain Falconer) went up the Forth, with some cannon and foot on board, to be employed upon the same service. The rebels however endeavoured to secure all the meal they could get in the country.

All the prisoners (except some officers) taken in the action at Falkirk, were sent from Stirling to Down castle on the 25th, and upon the same day the baggage of the Prerender's son was sent to Leckie house. The principal part of the rebel army then remained about Falkirk.

Hitherto the rebels, not having got their cannon mounted, fired on the castle only with small arms from the houses: of which they discharged several platoons on the 26th; but without doing any harm. General Blakeney had not at this time lost one man of his garrison; whereas the loss the rebels sustained by the firing from the castle was very considerable. Seven French officers are said to have been killed. But on the 27th they had two batteries erected; one at Gowan-hill within forty yards of the castle, and one at Lady's-hill. They gave out they should have their cannon mounted next day, consisting of two pieces of eighteen pounders, two of sixteen, and three of twelve.—A drum had been sent round the town, with notice, that every person who was taken near the castle should be shot; and that if any of the townspeople entertained any of the wives or children of the soldiers who were in the castle, they should be punished with military execution.—Accordingly on the 28th they had three pieces of cannon mounted; which began to fire next morning.—The battery at the Gowan-hill was erected under cover of wool-packs. By the fire from it, the upper part of the walls of the castle was a little damaged.

All this while, General Hawley was preparing to march the army West again from Edinburgh.—Sempill's, Campbell's (the Scots fusileers), and Bligh's foot, were on their march for Edinburgh before the action; and Mark Kerr's, St. George's, and Bland's dragoons, and the Duke of Kingston's horse were now ordered



dered thither likewise.——Sempill's regiment arrived on the 17th, and Campbell's in a day or two after. The military chest, from England, was brought in on the 21st, escorted by a troop of St George's dragoons, and lodged in the castle. Upwards of forty gunners and matrosses, with a train of artillery, consisting of sixteen pieces of brass cannon, and stores, from Newcastle, came in on the 26th.

Such of the prisoners taken by the rebels at Preston, as were at Perth, had been sent to Glammis before the end of December.——These, with others at Coupar and Leslie, were delivered by armed parties of his Majesty's loyal subjects in the neighbourhood of those places, and carried by a detachment of said parties to Edinburgh; where they arrived on the 19th. The Gentlemen thus retaken were, Lieutenant Colonel Whiteford, of Cochran's marines; Lieutenant Paton, and Ensign Wakeman, of Guise's foot: Lieutenant Kennedy, and Ensign Archer, of Lee's: Major Talbot; Captain Leslie; Lieutenants Wall and Rae; Ensigns-Sutherland, Lucey, and Birnie, of Thomas Murray's: Major Severn; Captains Collier, Barlow, Anderson, Corbet, and Forrester; Lieutenant Swiney; Ensigns Stone, Cox, and Goulton, of Lascelles's: Captain Monro; Captain Lieutenant Macnab; Lieutenant Reid; Ensigns Grant, MacLaggan, Mackay, and Campbell, of Loudon's: Quartermasters West and Young, of Ligonier's (formerly Gardiner's) dragoons.

The arrival of these officers at Edinburgh, was taken notice of in both the Edinburgh papers of the 20th; and, in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of the 23d, there was the following paragraph, viz. "We are well informed, that the officers made prisoners at the battle of Preston, and confined in the house of Glammis, Coupar, and Leslie, were forcibly hurried off by a great number of people in arms and disguised, whom they could not resist, and carried by the same violence to Edinburgh; and afterwards those at Pitfirren, Culross, and St Andrew's, were brought over by the same methods."

These

These Gentlemen, however, seem to have been under some difficulty how to behave on this occasion. They did not dress like military men, till the beginning of February. About this time they put on their swords and cockades, by an order, as was said, from the King.

Some days after the army returned from Falkirk to Edinburgh, General Hawley sent for the officers of the Glasgow regiment; and, after thanking them for their past services, which he told them he would represent to his Majesty, he acquainted them, that as the time for which the town of Glasgow had agreed to subsist the regiment was then expired, and as his Majesty was to have, in this country, more than a sufficiency of forces to quell the present rebellion, he judged it his duty to dispense with their farther attendance, which was expensive both to the town and to themselves; and likewise a real loss to the country, by withdrawing so many useful hands from the manufactures. Upon which the officers unanimously assured the General, that they were willing to serve their King and country at their own expence, and that they would be ready at a call, whenever their attendance should be judged necessary, or in the least degree useful to the service. His Excellency afterwards received his Majesty's commands to thank said regiment. Being thus honourably dismissed, they went to their respective homes.

A French drum from the rebels came into Edinburgh on the 28th, with a message, as was said, to the commander in chief; but it was suspected his letters were not opened; for he was dismissed in a very short time.

Several of the men that came from France, deserted from the rebels.

Before the end of January, the Hazard sloop of war, taken a good while before by the rebels, sailed from Montrose, for France, as was at first supposed; but it was afterwards thought she had gone North about, in order to carry off the Pretender's son. About the same time a Spanish privateer arrived at Peterhead, with nine tun of gunpowder, three chests of money, and several chests of

of small arms on board; all which were presently landed, and the money and powder were conducted to Montrose by a party of the rebels. Captain Balfour (of Admiral Byng's squadron) afterwards took the privateer; but, not being able to get her out of the port, on account of her being neaped there by the tides, he proposed to burn her.

The time was now approaching when things in Scotland were to put on another face. The King having directed the Duke of Cumberland to repair thither, to take upon himself the command of the army there, his Royal Highness set out from London between twelve and one in the morning of the 25th, arrived at Edinburgh, attended by the Duke of Athol, and by the Earl of Albemarle and others officers, about three in the morning of the 30th. Here the news of this intended journey was received with the greatest joy; and there were extraordinary illuminations, bonfires, ringing of bells, &c. the evening of the 29th, in expectation of his Royal Highness's arrival. At this time, as on former occasions of the like nature, some irregularities were committed by breaking of windows.

Before the news came to Edinburgh of the Duke's intended journey, the necessary preparations had been made for marching the army Westward. At the late action, they had been greatly incommoded by a number of spectators; of which several thousands, from Edinburgh, Glasgow, and the country, were present. To prevent the like on this occasion, an intimation was made in the churches of Edinburgh on the 26th, to the same purpose with the following advertisement, which was next day published in the news papers, *viz.* "Whereas it has been found by experience, that the army's being followed by great numbers of idle or ill-designing people, is attended with very great inconvenience to it, and may prove fatal to themselves; and whereas the attendance of such great numbers upon the army, is not only a great incumbrance, but consumes very much of the provisions and forage which may be necessary to support the army: these are therefore to give notice, that whoever shall presume



presume to come within one mile of the army after its march from Edinburgh, without being duly furnished with a pass from the Right Honourable Lord Justice Clerk, his Excellency General Hawley, or one of the General officers, they shall be punished, and must blame themselves if they be fired upon; excepting such as bring provisions and forage to the army, who are to be paid ready money for what they bring, to whom all protection is to be given; and excepting those also whose information may be useful to the army.

Another advertisement was published in the newspaper of the 27th, (which had been likewise intimated in the churches the day before, in the afternoon), by the *Honourable Walter Sandilands and Alexander Lind, Esqrs. Lords Sheriffs of Edinburgh*, in these words. "Whereas we have just now received notice, that a regiment of dragoons are to be quartered in town tomorrow, and that other regiments are following; and whereas we are informed, that the common stables, and other stables within this city and suburbs, and the town of Leith, and precincts thereof, are much crowded with private persons horses, not in the service of the government, or belonging to the military: these are therefore ordering and requiring the proprietors of such horses, instantly to remove them from the said stables; with certification, if they be found remaining there this day by ten o'clock, they will be understood as left for the service of the army, and will be employed accordingly."

Every thing being ready when the Duke arrived, his Royal Highness immediately gave the necessary orders for the march of the army. He received the compliments of the clergy, the university of Edinburgh, the principal inhabitants of the city, &c. on the 30th. Early next morning the army marched, consisting of 14 battalions of foot, the Argyleshire highlanders, Cobham's dragoons, and four troops of Mark Kerr's. These last, and two of the battalions of foot, the Scots fusileers and Sempill's, had not been at the late action. The artillery followed. Major-General Huske led the van. Ligonier's and Hamilton's dragoons were ordered to

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patrole along the roads leading Westward from Edinburgh, in order to prevent any intelligence being sent to or from the rebels. The Edinburgh regiment and city-guard were left in town, and some of the country-militia were brought in.—At nine in the morning the Duke set out. His Royal Highness passed thro' the city in the Earl of Hopeton's coach mounted his horse without the city, and was soon up with the army.

Scarce any body doubted that there would have been an engagement on the first of February: but when all people were waiting with the utmost impatience to know the fate of the day, news came that the rebels fled precipitately on the approach of the King's army.—We shall give the accounts of this flight as published in two Gazette extraordinary, February 5, and 6. viz.

“ *Whitehall, Feb. 5.* This day, at twelve o'clock at noon, an express arrived from his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, with the following letters.”

*A letter from his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland to the Duke of Newcastle.*

*Falkirk, February 1. 1745-6.*

*My Lord Duke of Newcastle.*

**I**N my last, of the 30th of last month, I informed you of our intention to march to the relief of Stirling castle. When I wrote that, I hoped that the rebels, flushed with their late success, would have given us an opportunity of finishing the affair at once; which, I am morally sure, would have been in our favour, as the troops in general shewed all the spirit that I could wish, and would have retrieved whatever slips were past. But, to my great astonishment, they had blown up their powder magazines, and were retired over the Forth at Frew leaving their cannon behind them, and a number of their sick and wounded, besides 20 of our wounded prisoners taken at the late affair, which I have found here. I hope to be at Stirling to-morrow, from whence I shall be better able to inform you of all this strange flight.

Brigadier

Brigadier Mordaunt with the two regiments of dragoons, and Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell with the highlanders, are in pursuit of them.

*I am your affectionate friend,*

WILLIAM.

This moment comes in from Stirling a man, who says, Blakeney had put troops in the town, and that all the rebels had crossed the Forth. I inclose the best account for the present I could draw up.

*A letter from his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland to the Lord Justice-Clerk.*

*Camp at Falkirk, February 1.*

*My Lord Justice-Clerk.*

I Thought it proper to give you an account of what has happened since I left Edinburgh.

Yesterday I marched from Edinburgh, with the army, in two columns, consisting of 14 battalions, the Argyle-shiremen, and the two regiments of dragoons of Cobham and Mark-Kerr; and quartered myself at Linlithgow with eight battalions at Borrowstounness. The dragoons quartered in the adjacent villages, and Colonel Campbell with the Argyleshiremen in the front, towards the Avon. A considerable body of the rebels was then at Falkirk, and some few of them appeared on the hills between that place and Linlithgow. They gave it out, that they intended to stand another action with the King's forces; but at the same time seemed very uneasy for their baggage, which they were endeavouring to secure on the other side of the Forth. They were very much disappointed at the defence General Blakeney had made in Stirling castle, and said it was impossible for man to take it.

This morning early word was brought, that the rebels had retired to the Torwood, and intended to make a stand there; and that the rest of them from Stirling would join them at that place.



I reviewed the whole army this morning, before we marched; who were in the highest spirits. The advanced parties of the rebels retired with precipitation on the approach of ours, and our foremost scouts brought in some stragglers, who said the rebels were passing the Forth in a good deal of confusion; being afraid, as they said, of another battle, because of the increase of our strength, and the great desertion there had been amongst the clans, which had much diminished their numbers. On our march we heard two great reports, like the blowing up of some magazine; and it was soon confirmed to us; for the rebels had blown up a very large quantity of powder, in the church of St. Ninian's, before they went off.

On my arrival here, I found all our wounded men whom they had made prisoners in the late action, and in their retreat had been obliged to leave behind them. And I hear they have left their artillery at Stirling spiked up.

As soon as I came here, I detached Brigadier Mordaunt, with the Argyleshiremen, and all the dragoons, in pursuit of them; tho' it was imagined that most of them will have escaped at the ford of Frew, as they generally make a good deal of haste when they are going off. They have lost a great many men at Stirling, and say it is all over with them, and they shall make to Montrose. One circumstance was particular, that Lady Kilmarnock, who till last night had always staid at Callender-house, went off with them.

I propose to march to-morrow morning to Stirling, and there take measures for further quieting these parts of his Majesty's dominions. *I am, &c.*

*Lord Justice-Clerk's letter to the Duke of Newcastle, dated, Edinburgh, February 1.*

*My Lord Duke,*

THE arrival of his Royal Highness the Duke has done the business, animated our army, and struck the rebels with terror and confusion. He lost no time to improve

improve these advantages, marched the whole army yesterday to Linlithgow and the adjacent places, and continued his march this morning to Falkirk; the rebels always flying before him. This morning the rebels renewed their fire against Stirling castle; but, General Blakeney continuing to make a good defence, they raised the siege, and have blown up their magazine of powder, and, as believed, have spiked their cannon, and the whole army of the rebels have fled with precipitation, and crossed the Forth at the ford of Frew; and his Royal Highness has sent on the dragoons and Argyleshiremen to take possession of Stirling, and remains with the foot this night at Falkirk. Wishing your Grace joy of this great and good news. *I am, &c.*

AND. FLETCHER.

*Whitehall, February 6.* Late last night another express arrived from his Royal Highness, the Duke of Cumberland, with letters, dated, Stirling February 2. giving an account, That his Royal Highness arrived there at one o'clock that afternoon, without meeting the least obstacle or resistance; 'as Brigadier Mordaunt had also done the night before, but too late to pursue the rebels. Their precipitate flight is not to be described. They were all to be at Perth the 2d; where, as their own men declare, they would not stay for his Royal Highness to come up to them. When the rebels heard that his Royal Highness was got to Linlithgow, they held a council, and drew out their men, declaring that they would meet him; but as soon as the baggage and the cannon they lately took were moved off, they told the country-people that they were going to meet a reinforcement; but that, as they could not carry away their plunder, they would give it to them; and that it was in St. Ninian's church; where they had made a magazine of powder and ball. And when the country-people went to take it away, the rebels attempted to set fire to the magazine; but fortunately the first train missed, so that several escaped: but

the second was so soon fired, that many poor people were blown up, and buried in the ruins\*.

After the rebels had crossed the Forth, many of the leaders told their men to shift for themselves. They talk of going from Perth to Dundee, and so on to Montrose; and his Royal Highness has sent proper orders to Rear Admiral Byng to prevent their getting off.

As soon as his Royal Highness can get the bridge of Stirling mended, he will follow to Perth, and so on whilst the rebels remain in a body. About twenty of their sick have been taken at Stirling; and Captain Fitzgerald, of Monro's regiment, and an Ensign of Lee's, were retaken.

His Royal Highness was pleased to commend extremely the behaviour of General Blakeney; who, by his conduct, as well as courage, has saved the castle of Stirling, which is a place of the greatest importance, from falling into the hands of the rebels. The castle would have held out; but the provisions and firing were almost consumed."

It was said, that, by the blowing up of the magazine at St. Ninian's, nine or ten country-people, and four or five of the rebels, were killed.

The rebels carried their prisoners along with them: but several of those confined in Down castle made their escape, and came to Edinburgh; as did likewise Major Lockhart, and Mr. Gordon of Ardoch; who prevailed upon the officer on guard, to let them escape, and to come himself with them to town. He was admitted to bail.

\* So horrid and shocking an instance of barbarity, as was justly observed in one of the London papers, is rarely to be met with in history; especially when, in all human probability, it would do hurt rather than service to the wicked contrivers. We find indeed things on record no less extraordinary; but many of them were not believed. When an inquisitive man reads of an action remarkably inhumane, he will be apt to make some abatement; and the more so if he finds that the accounts have been writ in haste, or by people who had just cause of resentment against the actors: As these circumstances meet in the present case, it were to be wished we could give the evidence on which it is said, that a plot was here laid for destroying the poor innocent country people.



bail. The rebels did not carry North the Glasgow hostages.

A fresh supply of about 120 horses from Newcastle, for the service of the army, came to Edinburgh the day it marched, and followed. The want of such for the artillery at the late action, was found to be a great loss.

Bligh's regiment came into town next evening, having been furnished with horses by the country-people, to expedite their march. That day Major General Bland arrived in town, and set out after the army next morning; as did likewise Sir Everard Fawkener, the Duke's Secretary, the Earl of Ancrum, and other officers.

The following account of the skirmish at Inverury was published in the London Gazette. "*Inverness, December 29.* The march of Macleod (about the middle of December) with the detachment of 700 men, without the Grants, (Mr. Grant of Grant, with 500 of his clan, had joined Culcainn, and marched with him to Strathbogie), who returned from Strathbogie, forced the rebels to retire to Aberdeen, and to send for a reinforcement from Montrose, Dundee, &c. They marched out of Aberdeen (again) on the 23d instant, with about 1200 men, so secretly, that they came up with Macleod at Inverury, where he lay with about 300 of his men, (the rest being cantoned in the neighbourhood at the distance of a mile or two), after four o'clock in the evening, without being discovered, till they were ready to begin the attack. Macleod however, and Captain Monro of Culcainn, got the handful of men they had in the village immediately together; and, notwithstanding the surprize, and the great inequality of the numbers, maintained their ground for about 20 minutes, untill they had fired away the greatest part of their shot; and then made their retreat in so good order, that the enemy did not think fit to pursue them one yard. The rebels do not pretend that we lost in this scuffle any more than seven men killed, and 15 so wounded that they could not be brought off. Their own loss they took care to conceal, by burying their dead in the night time; but all the reports

ports from that country agree, that it was much more considerable than ours. We have been obliged to retire to this side the Spey, to prevent surprises of the like nature, untill we are reinforced. This affair has however retarded the rebels recruiting, and has forced them to detach from the South, which weakens them there.

Upon the 1st of February, the rebels retreated precipitately from Stirling on the approach of the King's army. It was reported, that they were so surprised, or rather infatuated, on hearing of the Duke's arrival, that they published a proclamation at Stirling, offering a reward to any that would discover the author of that damnable lie, that the person commonly called the Duke of Cumberland was arrived in Scotland. They forded the forth at Frew, and proceeded to Crief. Here the army divided, and marched in three separate corps; the clans, with the Pretender's son, by Tay bridge; a body of lowlanders, by Dunkeld; and the third corps, by Perth. They were entring this town in straggling parties on horseback from nine in the morning of the 2d till seven at night. Then Lord Lewis Gordon's, Lord Ogilvy's, and Sir James Kinloch's men, came in a body; as did the French piquets about nine. These last consisted of not above 100 men, and the whole amounted to about 1500. About 200 stragglers followed on the 3d. The same day came in from Crief 140 men, commanded by Mr. Robertson of Faskally, and Blairfetty, and brought in seven pieces of brass cannon and four covered waggon. Nineteen carts with ammunition had come in the day before. The persons of greatest distinction that came to Perth were, the French Ambassador, the Earl of Kilmarnock, the Lord Pitligo, Elcho, Ogilvy, Lewis Gordon, George Murray, and John Drummond, Secretary Murray, Sir John Macleod and his brother, Brigadier Stapleton, Majors Nairn and Kennedy, and Mr. Mitchell. It was given out by the rebels, that their several corps were to join again, and to attack Lord Loudon at Inverness; but this was thought to be said only with design to amuse people, for that they were actually disbanded.

The

They made no stay at Perth. Even on the 3d, there went for Dunkeld seven pieces of brass cannon, four covered waggons, and fourteen carts with ammunition, escorted by Lord Lewis Gordon's men. The same day, the main body of horse and foot, consisting of the life-guards, Pittligo's, Ogilvy's, and Sir James Kinloch's men, crossed the Tay in a straggling manner, and took their route for Montrose by the way of Couper of Angus. Several of the above Gentlemen went with them.

On the 4th, the French piquets, about 100 men, commanded by Colonel Crichton, who lay in garrison at Perth, and the 140 men commanded by Faskally and Blairfetty, passed the river likewise; as did Lord Strathallan, Galk, Lord George Murray, and the remaining part of the Gentlemen above mentioned; excepting Secretary Murray, who went on the afternoon of the 3d to Lord John Drummond's at Fairnton, where the Pretender's son was obliged to be; and the French Ambassador, the Earl of Kilmarnock, Macleod of Raza, and another Gentleman, who went in a coach for Dunkeld. At Perth the rebels left thirteen pieces of iron cannon, about eight and twelve pounders, nailed up; and threw into the river a great quantity of cannon balls, and fourteen swivel-guns that formerly belonged to the Hazard sloop: but the guns were taken out again next morning. The sailors of this sloop, prisoners here, were set at liberty; but it was believed Captain Hill, the commander, and the prisoners of distinction taken at Falkirk, were carried North. About an hour after the rebels had evacuated Perth, which was between eleven and twelve in the forenoon of the 4th, a small party of their rear from Crief marched through that town, and crossed the river.

The van of the Kings army entered Stirling on the 1st of February: as did the Duke next day.—His Royal Highness was saluted by a triple discharge of the great guns of the castle, which he had so seasonably relieved. As an arch of Stirling bridge had been broken down by General Blakeney's order, the army was obliged to stop  
till



till it was mended. One Riddel was apprehended at Stirling as a spy, and hanged. He had one of the Pretenders passes in his pocket. This very person was sentenced by the rebels, when in Edinburgh, to be hanged, for robbery and horse stealing; but his sentence was afterwards commuted to whipping and banishment.

By six o'clock in the morning of the 4th, the arch of Stirling bridge was repaired, with timber mostly provided by the rebels for the same purpose; and that day the army passed over. The advanced guard, consisting of the Argyleshire highlanders and the dragoons, went on to Crief, and they were cantoned at and about Dumblain. Here the Duke lay that night, and next day reached Crief.—(A party released Sir Patrick Murray and Mr Griffith, who had been made prisoners by the rebels at Preston, and were on parole).—The advanced guard took possession of Perth on the 5th, and the Duke arrived there on the 6th. Thence two detachments, of 500 foot each, were sent forward: one to Dunkeld, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Sir Andrew Agnew, to which 120 Argyleshire men were added; the other, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Lighton, to castle Menzies, a mile North of Tay bridge. The main body of the army remained some days at Perth, in order to rest the foot after the great fatigue they had undergone. Here magazines of bread and forage were ordered to be laid in. The Duke of Athol crossed the Forth at Leith on the 4th, and was at Perth when the Duke of Cumberland arrived there.

About the beginning of February it was reported, that one or two more French ships had lately arrived at Peterhead, with money and military stores: of which, and of the flight of the rebels towards the East coast, intelligence was sent to Admiral Byng.

In their way to Perth, the army marched through some of the Drummond, Strathallan's, and other disaffected person's estates. There, as was reported the exasperated foldiers gave a specimen of what they would do, in revenge for the fatigues and hardships they had been

been made to suffer, if they were at once let loose without controul.—A letter from Perth, February 6 says, “ Our soldiers have made a kind of military auction, or publick sale, of household goods, cattle, sheep, hogs, &c. with what little silver plate they have been able to find in the houses of such Gentlemen as were with the rebels.”—Another letter dated, Stirling February 13. says, “ Our army, in their march from Stirling to Perth, has made search in several parties for arms, ammunition, &c. in several parts of the country, particularly at the house of Lord Strathallan. I cannot distinguish what they have found in the different places; but, in general, some parties of the Old Buffs have brought in some arms, forty five horses, which were sold for the benefit of the captors, and fifty seven head of black cattle, which were ordered for the use of the army.” Parties, it was said, went afterwards to the Eastward of Perth, to Fife, Athol, &c. and carried off effects out of rebels houses.

Several persons were taken up at Perth upon suspicion. The Duchess dowager of Perth was apprehended at Drummond castle, carried to Edinburgh by a party of dragoons, and committed to the castle there on the 11th. On the same day the Viscountess of Strathallan was committed to the same place; and, a few days before, upwards of sixty had been sent thither from Stirling castle, where some of them had lain since the month of September.

According to the best information they had at Perth on the 8th, the Pretender's son lay on the 6th at Blair of Athol, with a body of the rebels, not amounting, by their own account, to 1500 men, tho' it was the greatest number they had then any where together. A countryman who had been carrying baggage for the rebels, and who returned from Dalnachardich to Dunkeld on the 9th at night, gave an account, that, on the night of the 7th, about 1000 of the clans, 40 Gentlemen on horseback, 50 baggage-horses, together with all the prisoners carried from Falkirk, who were in a miserable condition, some wanting shoes and stockings, arrived at Dalnachardich,

Dalnachardich, in their way Northwards; that on the 8th their artillery, with about 80 cart-load of baggage, was carried off from Blair, and that it was given out they were driving for Ruthven in Badenoch; that, in the afternoon of the same day, Lochiel and some other Gentlemen marched Northwards; that very few men remained about Blair, but what belonged to Lord Lewis Gordon's regiment; and that the pretended Prince, and a number of Gentlemen, continued at Blair on the morning of the 9th, when the countryman left it. All the men pressed out of the country about Dunkeld had by this time made their escape, and were returned home. The rebels continued yet to keep outguards as far as the pass of Killichranky.

Of the rebels that took the coast-road, the last left Montrose on the 8th at noon; and it was judged their route was for Aberdeen. All to the South of that town was then clear of them. It was generally thought the Pretender's son was at Montrose, a person having been brought into that town, and kept very privately the night of the 7th, and having moved off before day next morning. But the rebels gave it out at this time, that he was every day hunting and hawking about Blair. The party at Montrose consisted of about 100 Gentlemen, 50 of the life-guards, 20 hussars, and about 150 private men. Lord Elcho was with them. Lord George Murray lodged three miles from Montrose on the 6th; and the same day Lord Pitligo passed by Brechin; and most of the common men, excepting those of the clans, went that road. There were not above twenty five of the men which came from France, that returned from Stirling; and ten of those staid behind at Montrose, in order to throw themselves at the feet of the Duke.

On the afternoon of the 9th, the Gloucester, and another ship of Admiral Byng's squadron, came to an anchor off Montrose. Advice was sent them, that the rebels had left the town, and marched Northwards to Aberdeen, except some small parties that still haunted about in the neighbourhood particularly at Stonehaven, a fishing town sixteen miles North of Montrose. Before the rebels left that place, they



ed up all their cannon, except six; four of which they embarked on board two boats, to be carried to Aberdeen, to fortify the bridge of Dee, where they gave out they would make a stand against the King's troops. One of the boats sailed with two of the cannon on the 8th, the day before the arrival of the two ships of war; and the other, upon their anchoring off the port, finding it impossible to get out, relanded her two cannon upon the beach. On the night of the 11th, the First Lieutenant of the Gloucester was ordered in, with two tenders manned and armed, to spike up those two guns that lay on the shore, and two more that lay at the cross, and to dismantle all the vessels that lay in the port in such a manner as to render them incapable of going to sea: which he accordingly effected. Mean time the town was every night alarmed with the return of the rebels, and there was no certainty when the Duke's troops would march that way; the commanders on board therefore thought it advisable, for preventing disturbances, to order Captain Gore on shore, with 50 of his marines, to take possession of the town, till his Royal Highness should send a detachment to relieve him. The Admiral likewise intended, so soon as the weather would permit, to send the Saltash sloop into the harbour; in order not only to secure a retreat to Captain Gore if the rebels should return in numbers, but prevent any landing from the French in that harbour, if the King's ships should be blown off by bad weather, or drawn off by chance. Admiral Byng watched the coast so closely, that it was impossible for the rebels to get off from Montrose by sea, which was judged to be the reason of their marching North.

By an account, dated, *Gloucester, at anchor off Montrose, February 10.* we have the following circumstances relating to the Hazard. "The Hazard sloop sailed from Montrose the 27th of last month, about three o'clock in the afternoon; and, by what we have been told from the shore since our being here, we are inclined to think that some body of note went off in her: for it is well known, that, between two and three on Monday morning the 27th, there came to Montrose from

Dundee a close chaise with two Gentleman in it, one of them much muffled up, and embarked immediately; and no body was afterwards suffered to go on shore from her, or to go on board her: and great preparations were made of provisions of all kinds, and laid in before she sailed. And, from the wind she sailed with, we imagined she went directly for France: for it was contrary for her going to the Northward; and, the day after she sailed, we had a violent storm at North and North-west, which must have driven her away to the Southward if she had not been bound that way." She arrived at Dunkirk a short while after.—Captain Balfour, of the Bridge-water, burnt the Spanish privateer which he found in the port of Peterhead, having first taken out the Captain and 35 men. The Captain reported, that there were four or five sail more on their passage, with arms and ammunition, that were to go to some port on the West of Scotland; where he should have gone; but the weather proved so bad as to oblige him to go North about, and his pilot brought him to Peterhead.

A body of the rebels which was at Aberdeen, marched thence on the 11th in three divisions, and took three different roads, all leading Northwards. They had no artillery with them, the two great guns sent from Montrose not having reached Aberdeen when they went off. Their baggage was sent away on the 10th. Lord Elcho, who seemed to be indisposed, with six horsemen, went Southwards, and passed at the bridge of Dee, two miles South of Aberdeen; but whether, was not known. All the artillery and ammunition landed out of the Spanish ship at Peterhead, had been sent Northwards. The town of Aberdeen was obliged to pay to the rebels 500*l*. The number there did not exceed 2000, but it was impossible to get it exactly.

In the afternoon of the 8th, Prince Fredrick of Hesse, and the Earl of Crawford, with the Hessians, (between 4 and 5000, among whom were some hussars), arrived in Leith road, in four days from Williamstadt. The Prince, the Earl of Crawford, and some other persons of Distinction, went ashore that night; but the troops remained

remained on board till the Duke's pleasure should be known, to whom an express was forthwith sent to Perth. The Prince lodged in Holyroodhouse. His Serene Highness was saluted, on his arrival, by the ships, and by the castle of Edinburgh; persons of distinction paid him their compliments: and he was entertained, during his stay, with balls, concerts of musick, assemblies, &c. In three or four days the troops were landed. Both men and horses looked well. The Duke of Cumberland made a trip from Perth to Holyroodhouse on the 15th; and having concerted the military operations with the Prince of Hesse, his Royal Highness returned next day to the army.

Lord Mark-Kerr, some time ago appointed Governor of the castle of Edinburgh, came to town on the 8th, and was received at the castle with the usual formalities.

About this time St. George's dragoons came to Edinburgh, and marched Westward; as did, afterwards, Kingston's horse, and parties of Mark-Kerr's dragoons, and of Johnson's foot.

On the 9th, Major General Campbell came to Perth, to meet the Duke, and brought with him four or five companies of Western highlanders. But it was resolved to send his Excellency back to the Western highlands; and that his son, with about 600 highlanders, should remain with the army, to go upon parties. As soon as the magazines of bread could be laid up, the army was to march Northwards by the coast, to be more at hand to send detachments into the hills, as it was impossible for the whole body to go that way.

Certain intelligence was brought to Perth on the 10th, that the rebels had retired from Blair, upon the detachments under Lieutenant Colonels Leighton and Sir Andrew Agnew taking post at castle Menzies and Dunkeld; and it was hoped they were fully prevented from forming a corps any more, as the King's troops would soon have possession of Blair, which was thought to be the first place where they could rendezvous. The Duke of Athol published a declaration, requiring all his vassals to come



to Dunkeld and Kirkmichael, and to join the troops sent or to be sent thither to disarm and apprehend the rebels, on pain of their being proceeded against with the utmost severity in case of refusal. His Grace caused several suspected persons to be committed at Dunkeld; —and, in a Day or two, took possession of Blair; where Sir Andrew Agnew, with 500 men, had taken post upon the retreat of the rebels thence.

By the 14th the Duke had sent three battalions of foot to Coupar of Angus, and a regiment of dragoons to Dundee.

Lord Loudon had got together 2000 men at Inverness by the 11th, and was fortifying that town with a ditch, placing ship cannon at proper places, and laying in provisions. His Lordship was daily expecting more men from the Earl of Sutherland, Lord Fortrose, Lord Rea, the Monroes, and Sir Alexander Macdonald. The Lord President had taken up his quarters at Fort George. One of the King's ships was then lying off Inverness. According to accounts, dated the 19th at Edinburgh, 200 Argyleshire men were sent to Fort William, to strengthen the garrison of that Place.

By these accounts,, the rebel clans who took the Inverness road were much diminished in their numbers; occasioned, as they pretended, by their having detached away parties, to bring back deserters, and to levy more men. There were 800 of them seen at Ruthven, with the Pretenders son; where they blew up the barracks, and then proceeded towards Inverness. Glenbucket, with about 300 rebels, and some cannon, had come to Ruthven on the 10th, and summoned the garrison in the barracks to surrender. But Lieutenant Mulloy, (who before repulsed the rebels), tho' he had only twelve men under him, did not surrender till he obtained terms.

Intelligence came to Edinburgh on the 19th, that the Pretender's son was joined by those parties of the clans who were separated from him on the march, and that he had gone with them into Strathspey, the country of the Grants, there to wait till joined by the other rebels from Aberdeen. — But accounts dated the 20th

at Perth, bore, that the small party of the rebels that accompanied the Pretender's son in his flight, and who burnt the barracks of Ruthven, proceeded to Burmont, but were stopt from going any farther by the river Findhorn; that they had given over their threats against Lord Loudon and Inverness; that they were starving with cold and hunger, and not more than 600 in number, tho' they gave themselves out to be above 3000; that they talked of going into the Grants country, to revenge themselves of that clan for taking up arms for the King; that the other party of the rebels, who had coasted along, had all quitted Aberdeen except about 200, who were left there only to prevent intelligence, and had 60 of their hussars out before them at Stonehaven; that the main body were all gone up Spey, and had found it so swelled by the rains and the thaw, that there were no fords for them to pass; that the Earl of Loudon had drawn all the boats to the North-shore, so that there was hopes of hemming in that part of them; and that this party of the rebels were not in so bad a condition as the other, having been able to live well in the countries they had gone through.

By the 20th, the Duke had put the troops into motion from Perth in four divisions; each of which was to have two days halt at Montrose in their way to Aberdeen; at which place, and the neighbourhood of it, the whole were to arrive upon the first of March. The Scots fusiliers were left at Perth under the command of Major Colvil: Sir Andrew Agnew, with 500 men, was at Blair; and 200 at Castle Menzies, under Captain Webster, to command Tay bridge. It was at this time intended to order the Hessians to reembark immediately for Flanders.

Letters from the Duke, dated the 25th at Montrose, contain the following advices.

" They write from Aberdeen of the 23d instant that, on the 21st, a ship of about 150 tons burthen, with French colours, came into that road about six at night, and fired two or three guns: upon which the rebels sent off a boat to her; which returned about eight, and

brought ashore two officers; who after some consultation, went on board again, and carried seven or eight boats, with an intention, as it was thought, to land their men; but they returned empty; and the ship went off, as is said for Peterhead, and some people went from Aberdeen to meet them there. It is said the ship had money, arms, cannon and ammunition on board; but it seems was not to deliver up the money, but by some particular order of one Boyer whom they call a French Ambassador, and who is with the Pretender's son.—That, upon the 22d, about five afternoon, another ship came about from Stonehaven, of about 100 tons burden, of no force, and anchored in the road of Aberdeen, and between eight and ten at night landed about 130 men, including five officers. They were cloathed in red turned up with blue. They also landed a parcel of saddles, and some horse furniture, and some horsemen's arms and breast plates. Many of them are English and Irish. They carried nine or ten cart and twenty pack loads of baggage with them. Upon the 23d they marched, from Aberdeen, as did all the other rebels that were then there, partly by Old Meldrum, which is twelve miles distant, and partly by Newburgh, which is the road to Peterhead. Those that marched from Aberdeen last, were commanded by Moir of Stonywood, being about 100, including parties they were to get in, and about 50 horse whom they call hussars, under one Colonel Baggot, a Frenchman. Those who landed from the French ship report, that there sailed five ships in all from Dunkirk, and that the other three ships were larger, and contained more men, and could not be far from the Scots coast."

Lord George Murray, with those under his command, were to have marched from Elgin on the 18th and 19th of March. Lord Ogilvy's men, and some others, being about 450, marched from Aberdeen on the 18th, and on the 17th the men from Cromar and Braemar, said to be about 250, marched from Cromar. The Strathbogie foot marched also by Clat to Strathbogie the highway.

The



The number of them was not certainly known, but said to be about 250.

They were also raising some men at that time in Buchan and Banffshire, in their way north.

Advices from the Northern parts mentioned, that, on Sunday the 16th, the main body of the rebels were within fourteen miles of Inverness, but had then an advanced party the length of the water of Nairn, four miles South of Inverness; where Lord Loudon's advanced party from Inverness met them, and a small skirmish happened, but of no consequence. That on Monday Lord Loudon's people retired to Inverness, and that day the rebels advanced within two miles of that town; that thereupon Lord Loudon, finding he was not able to defend the town, crossed the bridge on Tuesday, and, by the ferry of Kessack, got over to the shire of Ross; and that very day the rebels got possession of the town of Inverness. However a proper supply of men was put into the castle; and Major Grant the Governor was determined to hold out as long as possible. That those rebels who went by Aberdeen, all crossed the Spey upon Thursday last; except Lord Ogilvy and his men, who were that night at a village called Keith, within six miles of the Spey, and were supposed to be by that time at Inverness. And that they had published an order, declaring it death to any who should convey letters to, or correspond with the friends of the government.

Further accounts from the neighbourhood of Inverness said, that the rebels were attempting to form a blockade from the town of Inverness, in order to mount their cannon upon Thursday last, and that the garrison were firing very briskly upon them. It was added, that the Lord President's house had been plundered.

Upon these advices, and the possibility that the rebels might attempt to slip again into the low lands; as also the different accounts received of troops coming from France, of which one transport was actually disembarked, and five of them in all expected, the Duke countermanded the reembarkation of the Hessians, and ordered the transports to proceed immediately to Shields

Shields, to take on board the Dutch troops, and to sail with a sufficient convoy to Williamstadt, and, after having landed the said troops, to return to Leith. His Royal Highness also wrote to Prince, Fredrick of Hesse, to march immediately four battalions to Perth, and two to Stirling. St. George's dragoons to be cantoned at Earn bridge; and the remains of Ligonier's and Hamilton's dragoons to be cantoned at Bannockburn, near Stirling. With this cavalry, which will be left under the command of the Earl of Crawford, the Prince of Hesse will have a sufficient corps to deal with the rebels, should they attempt to avoid the Duke by going South, or to attack the posts at Blair, Castle Menzies, &c. and Bligh's battalion are to hold themselves in readiness to march; his Royal Highness proposed to be at Aberdeen the day after to morrow; and, upon advice of the arrival of the French ships on this coast, dispatched on Sunday the Hound sloop, which was in this port, Northward, in quest of them, with orders to go to Aberdeen and Peterhead, and further North, if by any intelligence there should be encouragement to come up with any of them; and the Gloucester appearing off this harbour yesterday, the like orders were sent to the Captain of her.

Other accounts from Aberdeen made the main body of the rebels, which marched for Inverness, amount to 4000 men or more.

With regard to the rebels getting possession of Inverness, we had the following particulars in a letter from Lord Loudon to the Duke, dated the 22d, *viz.* "On Sunday the 16th the rebels lay within eight miles of Lord Loudon at Inverness. Upon which his Lordship marched out with 1500 men to beat up their quarters, and got half way undiscovered; when a detachment which he had sent to prevent intelligence, going a nearer road, contrary to orders, fired about thirty shot at four men; which alarmed the country, and threw the body along with Lord Loudon into confusion; during which a great many of his people dispersed; so that it was necessary to march back to Inverness. From whence his Lordship would

would have joined the Duke; but the rebels changing their situation made that impossible: and his Lordship finding himself at the same time unable to defend the place with the numbers that remained with him, threw two of the independant companies into the castle, with a sufficient quantity of provisions; and having put on shipboard what arms and ammunition could be spared, on Tuesday at twelve marched out of Inverness, and crossed the ferry at Kessack without the loss of a man, tho' the rebels were in possession of one end of the town before he left the other. From thence he crossed into Cromarty, in order to have it in his power to cross the frith of Murray, and join his Royal Highness in case his army had been so far advanced; but the rebels approaching, obliged him to cross at Tyne, in order to put himself behind the river in a defensible post."—Lord Loudon and the Lord President were at Balnagown on the 22d, waiting the Duke's orders.—Fort George, the castle of Inverness, in which there was a company of Grants under Rothemurchus, a company of Macleods, and 80 regular troops, surrendered to the rebels on the 20th. Here they got 16 cannon, with ammunition, 100 barrels of beef, and other provisions. Hence they sent a detachment with two of the largest cannon towards Fort Augustus.

Pursuant to a sentence of a general court-martial, Captain Koningam (who had the command of the train at the battle of Falkirk), was brought to the head of the artillery, at Montrose, on the 24th; where his sword was broke over his head, his sash thrown on the ground and himself ordered to quit the army, for cowardice and misbehaviour in the action.

The first division of the King's army reached Aberdeen on the 25th, and the rest of the army in a day or two after. Here the Duke was waited upon by the Noblemen and Gentlemen in the neighbourhood. Mr. Grant of Grant junior offered to bring out 600 of his people armed as soon as the army was ready to march. The day after his Royal Highness came to Aberdeen, he detached Lord Ancrum with 100 dragoons, and Major Morris



Morris with 300 foot under his command, to a castle at the head of the river Don, 40 miles from thence, called Corgarf, and situated in the heart of the rebellion, in order to get possession of a quantity of Spanish arms and powder which were lodged there. His Lordship took them without resistance, the rebels having quitted the castle upon his approach; but as they had driven away the horses of the country, he was forced to destroy most of the arms, and 30 barrels of powder.

On the 28th the Duke received advice, that the rebels had published a paper, importing, that they proposed to lie still till the spring, and then to assemble a great army of highlanders, and make a fresh irruption; that Sir James Grant's people were in arms for the King, headed by his son Mr. Lewis, who, with 300 of his men was within eight miles of Aberdeen; and that Captain Dyves, of the Winchelsea, had destroyed the dogger which lately landed the French soldiers, with saddles, &c. at Aberdeen.

Letters of a later date from Aberdeen bore, That within a few days they would have a recruit of 500 men from Edinburgh and England, besides Bligh's regiment, which was coming by sea; that as the Hessians were moving towards Perth, the Scots fusileers were to march North; that Kingston's horse were within a march of Aberdeen: That, by the last and best accounts of the rebels, Lords Lewis Gordon and John Drummond were at Gordon castle, on the South of the Spey, with about 100 men, just to cover their quarters; that the main of their body which they gave out to be 2000, was on the North side of that river, making shew of intrenching themselves, tho' they had but two pieces of cannon, and those without carriages, which they coasted along from Montrose; that the Pretender's son was still at Inverness, with 3 or 4000 of the clans according to their own reckoning, so it was thought, if a stand was made at all, it would probably be there. That the King's army moved but slowly, being obliged to carry a magazine of all sorts of provisions with them; and that their march to Inverness would take some days to form,

as that of the highlanders, of whom they were to have a considerable body, was to be concerted at the same time.

On the 22d, four companies of the Argyleshire militia arrived at Dumbarton, in their way to Inverary, and were to be followed next day by General Campbell, with four companies more, in order to prevent the rebels penetrating into that shire, or their being joined by any of the disaffected in those parts. — A letter from Fort William says, that on the 15th, George Macfarlan of Glenraloch, a Lieutenant of the Argyleshire militia, was, in the presence of many spectators, shot dead within a gunshot of that fort, by three of the rebels; that a party pursued them three miles without coming up with them; but that, in their return, they burnt the house of one of the murderers.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* we had the substance of an account of the battle of Falkirk, said to have been sent by the rebels to their friends abroad, and printed at Paris, Madrid, and Rome.

“ — After a compleat victory, gained by 8000 over above 12,000, we remained masters of the field of battle; but, as it was near five o'clock before it ended, and as it required time for the highlanders to recover their muskets, rejoin their colours, and form again in order, it was quite night before we could march; and besides, having no tents nor provisions, the rain fell, and the cold sharp wind blew with such violence, that we must have perished had we passed the night on the field of battle; and as we could not return to our quarters without relinquishing the advantages of the victory, our Prince resolved, tho' without any cannon or guides, and in the most amazing darkness, to attack the enemy in their camp: and tho' the situation of it was very advantageous, and fortified by strong retrenchments, their soldiers were seized with such a pannick on our approach, that they durst not stay therein, but fled towards Edinburgh, having first set fire to their tents. They had the start of us by an hour and a half; and some troops which they had left at Falkirk, disputing our

our entrance, gained them another hour; so that our cavalry being but poorly mounted, could not come up with them. Hence it was, that in a flight in which 5 or 6000 prisoners might have been taken, we did not make above 600, only 250 of which were regular troops. They had 600 men slain, 2 thirds whereof were horse and dragoons; but we know not exactly the number of their wounded. Our wounded are not above 120, and our slain only 32, officers included. We have taken 7 pieces of cannon, 3 mortars, 1 pair of kettledrums, 2 pair of colours, 3 standards, about 600 muskets, a large quantity of granadoes, 4000 weight of powder, 28 waggons laden with all kinds of military stores, tents for 5000 men, and all the baggage that escaped the flames. Among their officers that fell are 5 Colonels, 2 Lieutenant Colonels, and almost all the chiefs of their highlanders and militia. On their arrival at Edinburgh, a great number of their principal officers were tried by a court martial; among others, the commander of the artillery; who, to prevent his sentence, cut an artery\*. Our Prince, who at the beginning of the engagement had been conjured, for the love of his troops, not to expose himself, was in the second line of the piquets; but as soon as the left was thrown into some disorder, he flew to their relief with an ardour that was not to be restrained. In the disposition of his troops he followed the advice of the Lord George Murray; who commanded the right wing, and fought on foot during the whole action at the head of his highlanders. Lord John Drummond commanded the left, and distinguished himself extremely. He took two prisoners with his own hands, had his horse shot under him, and received a slight wound in his left arm with a musket-ball. We should likewise do justice to the valour and prudence of several other officers, particularly Mr. Stapleton, Brigadier in his Most Christian Majesty's army, and commander of the Irish piquets; Mr. Sullivan, Quartermaster-General of the army, who rallied part of the left wing; and Mr. Brown, Colonel of the guards, and one

\* True; but it did not prove mortal.



one of the Aid de Camps, formerly of Major Lally's regiment."

About the beginning of March, the Hessian troops, with their artillery, &c. moved from the neighbourhood of Edinburgh for Perth. Their route was by Stirling. The Prince, the Earl of Crawford, &c. left Holyroodhouse on the 5th, and were that night at Hopetounhouse. By the 10th, they had their head quarters, with the greatest body of their troops at Perth. Thence his Serene Highness took a tour Northward, by Dunkeld, Taymouth, &c. to reconnoitre, and returned to Perth on the 15th. Naizon's and Hamilton's dragoons marched about the middle of the month, by the same route the Hessians had taken.

Pursuant to an order from the Duke the Hessian transports, about thirty four in number, sailed from Leith road on the 2d, for Shields, with their convoy, the Gibraltar, Sheerness, and a bomb-vessel. They took on board the Dutch troops, and arrived with them in Holland about the end of the month.

On the 5th, Bligh's regiment embarked at Leith, and sailed next day for Aberdeen. They were several times put back by contrary winds, and did not reach the destined port till the 25th. Two days before, 300 men belonging to different regiments had arrived at Aberdeen by land.

According to letters from the Duke, of the 9th, from Aberdeen, the rebels still pretended they would defend the passage of the Spey. Lord John Drummond, who was chief of those in that part of the country, with the remains of his regiment, and a few French horse lately landed, was at Gordon castle. Their low country people, whom they set at 3000, were at Elgin, Forchabers, and other places on both sides the Spey. They were intrinching themselves, and preparing herissons and crow feet to spoil the fords; and they gave out that the clans were coming behind them. The Pretender's son himself was come to Elgin and was then very ill there. The day before his arrival at that place, some people unknown were shipped off in a small fishing vessel

at Portsoy, which little harbour was still in the power of the rebels. As to the other body of the rebels, the last accounts were, that after taking possession of Inverness and the castle, (Fort George), they sent one party over the frith of Murray after Lord Loudon; that another, of about 4 or 500, with the French piquets, were gone to Fort Augustus; that these had taken the old barracks, and expected to take the castle in a few days; that the number of the rebels was daily increasing; and that the Pretender's son, as they gave out, would go himself to the isle of Sky, to raise men there. Among many reports concerning the increase of the rebels, one was, That Lord Lovat joined them with 700 men; another, That a private Gentleman having published a scheme, for transporting the disaffected highlanders to America, to prevent any future insurrections, this Lord procured a copy of it, translated it into the Irish language, shewed copies of it up and down the country, told the people the Duke was coming to put the scheme in execution, and admonished them to rise, and defend their liberties, properties, wives, and children; and that they seemed determined to follow his Lordships advice. But neither of these by authority.

Mean time the disposition and cantonment of the King's army were so contiguous, that there was no reason to apprehend any surprize. The whole of the infantry was within the towns of Old and New Aberdeen; and as soon as a great storm of snow, which fell on the night of the 3th, was a little off, it was proposed to march. Three King's ships were cruising in the narrow frith of Murray, which it was hoped would effectually prevent any attempt that might be made by the French of assisting the rebels at Inverness.

The Duke of Gordon arrived at the head quarters at Aberdeen on the evening of the 9th, from his own house, which he had left the day before on foot, and in the most secret manner he could, the rebels who lived upon his estate having constantly watched his Grace ever since they had been there.

At

At Forfar, where each of the four divisions of the King's army lay a night, three French officers were concealed during the whole time; and after all the troops were passed through, they were permitted to beat up for volunteers there. Upon information that some rebels, and, amongst others, Roy Stewart, were concealed in Aberdeen, the Duke ordered search to be made for them; but they were not found.—A design was formed at Montrose, for the country people to come down and rescue the rebel prisoners; but fortunately Kingston's horse being there, prevented the affair. The prisoners were thereupon ordered under a guard to Stirling.—And upon Bligh's regiment being embarked at Leith for Aberdeen, some disaffected persons formed a design to rise up, and break the prison-doors at Edinburgh; whereupon Lee's regiment was ordered to march thither from Berwick.—The truth of this was doubted at Edinburgh.

'Tis added in the above letters from the Duke, that his Royal Highness had ordered Lord Loudon to come and join the army with all his highlanders; and that the Monroes, Sutherlands, and the rest of the well affected Northern clans, had joined his Lordship, and would come with him. Four companies, consisting of 310 men, besides Serjeants, Corporals, and Drums, joined him from the Earl of Sutherland. According to accounts from Aberdeen of the 19th, however, his Lordship was still at Dornoch in Sutherland.

About the beginning of March an order was published by the Duke, and read from the pulpits, commanding all those who had been pressed into the rebellion, forthwith to deliver up their arms; and promising to recommend to the Royal mercy such as should comply. But 'tis said that the disaffected industriously put a bad construction on his Royal Highness's merciful design; and that tho' some had thereupon complied, yet that others had fled, and joined the rebels.

Copies of a paper were brought to Aberdeen which was printed, and dispersed all over the highlands, by the rebels, containing the reasons of their retreat from



Stirling. In it they say, That after the battle of Falkirk, a great part of their men desired to carry home the booty they had got there and in England, and promised to be back again before the King's forces could possibly be recruited, and come again and attack them: that they accordingly went, but not being come back when the King's army set out from Edinburgh, they thought it more prudent to retreat to Blair of Athol, than to hazard a battle: and that the reason of their retreating still further North, was, that tho' they had taken from the King's army upwards of 1000 tents at Falkirk, yet they could not prevail on their men to make use of them, who ch'ose rather to lie in the open fields, in their usual manner, notwithstanding the severity of the weather; that their leaders foresaw this must be very prejudicial to their healths, and therefore ordered them to retreat to Inverness, till the weather became more favourable; and that they would come South again, and make the uprightness of their cause appear.

In the West we find that early precautions had been taken for the security of Fort William. General Campbell threw into it upwards of 300 Argyleshire men, with a good engineer; and ordered the *Serpent* and *Baltimore* sloops to that station. Fifty men of Guise's regiment, who had been gathered together at Edinburgh under the command of a Captain-Lieutenant, and some other troops were likewise ordered thither. These precautions soon came to be of use. By the 14th, the Duke had received the following accounts, dated the 4th, at Fort William. "We have advice here, that a party of the rebels amounting to 1000 men, is at Glenevis, within two miles of us; and that their train of artillery is to be to-morrow at Highbridge, which is six miles from this fort. We heard of their taking of Fort Augustus, and expect to be attacked; but Governor Campbell is determined to defend the place to the utmost of his power. For some days past there have been some small parties of rebels posted on each side the narrows of Carron; in which on Saturday last they took one of the boats belonging to the *Baltimore* sloop, as she was coming

ing from Scallastall bay, and sent the crew prisoners to their head quarters. As soon as we had intelligence of this accident, a council was called consisting of land and sea officers, and a resolution taken to send a strong party to dislodge the rebels. In consequence thereof, early that morning Captain Askew of the *Serpent* sloop sent his boat with 27 men in it, another boat of the *Baltimore's* with 24 men, and a boat belonging to Fort William with 20, down the narrows; where they all arrived by day-light. Captain Askew's men landed first, and were immediately attacked by a party of 80 rebels, who fired upon them, without doing them any damage; and upon the rest of the men belonging to the boats coming up, the rebels fled. Our people pursued them, burnt the ferry houses on both sides of the water, and a little town with about twelve houses in it, a quarter of a mile distant from the ferry-house on the North-side, and destroyed or brought off all their boats. Two of the rebels were killed in this affair, and several wounded. It was very lucky that our boats went down as they did; for there was a boat with a party of militia in it, that was coming thither from Stalker castle, which would probably have fallen into the hands of the rebels, but for the skirmish before mentioned"—Captain Frederick Scott came from Dunstaffnage to Ellanstalker castle on the 6th; but could not get any farther, the rebels having guarded both sides of the narrows of Carron for two miles on that side Fort William. On the night of the, 6th, the centries at Ellanstalker saw several lights, which were thought to belong to the rebel parties marching towards Fort William from Strathappin, which is near the rock on which Ellanstalker castle stands, and Appin house is not a mile from it.

General Campbell having got notice at Inverary, that the rebels had taken the *Baltimore's* boat, and hearing that they had likewise possessed themselves of the pass of Ardgour, so that nothing could pass to or from Fort William, his Excellency caused put four swivel guns, with ammunition, &c. on board the *Victory* wherry, with an officer and 16 men, and a like number on board

the Hopewell sloop, and sent them round. They failed accordingly on the 8th.

Advice was received at Inverary the 11th, that the French, which were judged not to be many, had come up to Fort William with the artillery on the 7th and 8th; and that they proposed to have a battery made ready to play on the 10th. But by letters from Captain Scott, who had thrown himself into Fort William, dated the 15th, the rebels had not then begun the siege, but were bringing up their artillery for that purpose. Four gunners sent by the Duke from Aberdeen, passed through Glasgow on the 19th for Fort William; and next day came into that city from Edinburgh two companies of Johnson's foot, designed as a reinforcement for the same place. Letters from Inverary give an account, that one of the companies had marched from that town on the 28th, and would be next morning at Dunstaffnage, where they had wherries ready to transport them to Fort William. 'Tis added, that a deserter informed, that there were not above 5 or 600 of the clans and 300 French before Fort William; that on the 22d they began to fire with six four-pounders and two eight-pounders, and talked of playing some great guns in two days after; and that Governor Campbell had bravely defended the place, and, in order to prevent the rebels sheltering themselves near the fort, had caused burn the town of Maryburgh.

As the rebels could not cut off the communication by sea, the garrison was plentifully supplied with provisions from Inverary. The siege was however continued till the 3d of April, and then raised. An officer in the fort gives the following compleat journal of it.

" On the 24th of February this place was blockaded by the rebels, who they say were 1500, including the French piquets. Brigadier Stapleton commands the siege. Lochiel commands the highlanders, consisting chiefly of his own clan, the Macdonalds of Keppoch and Glenco, and the Stewarts of Appin.

From the 24th February to the 20th March they kept every day firing, tho' at a considerable distance. On the



the 20th, they began to raise batteries, and that night threw in a great many cohorn-shells of six inches diameter, and above inch thick in the shell.

21st, They began to cannonade from a battery of 3 guns, and that night threw in betwixt 60 and 70 more of these shells upon us.

22d, They sent a French drum with a summons to surrender. He was not admitted into the garrison, nor his credentials looked at. On his return, they plied us hard all that day with their cannon and betwixt 10 at night and 3 next morning, they threw in from one battery of 5 and another of 4 cohorn-mortars, no less than 190 of these large shells. These batteries are about 200 yards distance from the walls.

23d, They cannonaded us very closely this forenoon; but, in the afternoon, we made a triple discharge of 9 of our cannon, and 2 bomb-mortars, which silenced them.

24th, This morning they began again their cannonading from their first battery, which they continued on the 25th and 26th.

27th, They unmasked a second battery of 4 guns on the high ground above the Governor's garden, not above 200 yards distant; from which, and the other, they have fired 250 shot, besides a continued fire of small arms from the nearest battery. The shot from their cannon were two thirds of them six pounders. They threw in 50 more of their royals on us, but did us no further harm than wounding 2 men.

28th, They cannonaded us hard all this forenoon. In the afternoon they were silent; but were busy erecting a new battery about 200 yards higher than their second battery, and to the West of it, to sweep our whole parade.

29th, This morning, by break of day, they unmasked a new battery at the Craigs, of 3 brass four pounders, within 100 yards of the walls, and cannonaded us from that and the other 3 batteries. As they carried a furnace along with them, they threw in a great many hot bullets, and some bearded pieces of iron a foot long, and

and inch thick, which they designed should stick in our timber work, and set us on fire. They fired grape and partridge shot, and plied us hard from all hands with small arms; but have done us very little damage.

30th, They cannonaded us hard from day-light till night, and continued throwing a few shells and hot bullets, some of which, after lying some time on the ground, could burn powder.

31st, Captain Scot having ordered 12 men out of each company, amounting in all to about 150 men, to make a sally, they marched out about 11 o'clock to the Craigs, about 100 yards from the garrison, where the rebels had a battery; which, after a smart fire, they rushed in upon, and made themselves masters of 3 brads four pounders, 2 mortars, and their furnace, being the same they took from Sir John Cope at Preston. They spiked up 2 large mortars, which they could not bring away, with 1 brads six pounder, which they brought under the walls. They had all this time a warm skirmish with the rebels, and lost only 2 men, and had 3 wounded. We brought in 2 prisoners, one of them a French gunner.

*April 1st*, This day they cannonaded us, but not very hotly.

2d, They continued cannonading, but not so briskly as usual. At 10 at night they threw in 17 shells, and fired 7 cannon, and gave over about 1 o'clock in the morning. This play was only to amuse us while they were spiking up their largest cannon, and carrying off their small ones.

3d, This forenoon, seeing no men about their batteries, and observing bodies of men travelling by the tops of the hills towards Fort Augustus, we made a sally with about 500 men, but found the works abandoned. We took the rest of the cannon and mortars, and brought them to the fort; so raised the siege gloriously, and have taken, in all, 4 brads four pounders, 9 mortars, and their furnace; and since the commencement have only buried six men, and have about 24 wounded. The roofs of the houses, and some of the rooms within, had suffered a good deal by the shells; which were so heavy,  
that

that they often went down from the roof to the ground before they broke. It seems they had got a very pressing call elsewhere, since they did not take time to carry off their artillery, or even to hide them, which might have been easily done.

We razed down their batteries, which were prodigiously strong, some of them being 27 foot from the front of the embrazure to the other side.

Other accounts said, that the men who sallied out on the 31st were in two parties, one commanded by Captains Foster and Maclachland, the other by Captains Paton and Whitway; that the former attacked and took the battery at the back of the craigs; that in another attack, made upon a four gun battery at the foot of the hill, the King's troops were repulsed, with the loss of two men killed and a few wounded; that their retreat was made in good order, under cover of the guns of the fort; that they carried in two prisoners, one an Englishman, the other a Frenchman, or rather a Spaniard; that this last gave an account, that the besiegers were half starving, and beginning to run short of ammunition; that the rebels lost a considerable number of men, not only in their flight from the craigs, but in the second attack; that the Governor was wounded, but not dangerously; that the town of Maryburgh and garden-walls were all levelled with the ground; that the garrison were 600 in number, all in good spirits, and were reinforced on the 1st of April by 70 of Johnson's regiment; that the roofs of the fort were exceedingly damaged, and the old pile of barracks almost quite beat down, both roof and walls; that there were not six panes of glass remaining in the windows; and that Captain Scot had been indefatigable, both by night and day, in erecting new works.

All this while, General Campbell was very busy at Inverary, in preparing to oppose the rebels in case they should move that way.—It was said, about the beginning of March, that all the men in Argyleshire able to bear arms, were assembling at that place, and that two additional companies of the Scots fusileers who lay at Dumbarton, were likewise ordered thither; about the  
middle



middle of the month, that there were then 1500 men there, and 300 more expected in a few days; and about the end of the month, That Maclean of Brolus had joined them with a company of his clan, and that the General had put the place in a good posture of defence, having ordered 12 pieces of cannon thither from Greenock.

By some accounts from Argyleshire, twenty six villages in Morven and places adjacent, possessed chiefly by the Camerons, were burnt by a party sent ashore from the sloop of war on the West coast. - This had as was reported, produced a kind of manifesto by Lochiel and Keppoch in which they exclaim against the Campbells, for burning houses and corn, killing horses, houghing cattle, stripping women and children, and exposing them to the severity of the weather in the open fields; threaten to make reprisals, if they can procure leave from their Prince, by entering Argyleshire, and acting there at discretion, and by putting a Campbell to death (of whom several had lately been made prisoners in Athol) for every house that should afterwards be burnt by that clan; extol the lenity and moderation of the rebels, notwithstanding the aspersions industriously spread to the contrary; and insinuate, that those who gave orders for the burning, could not answer for it to the British parliament.

With regard to affairs in the inland parts of the country, the Duke had received pretty sure intelligence at Aberdeen, by the 14th, that Fort Augustus was fallen into the rebels hands; and that the garrison, consisting of three companies of Guise's regiment, (140 men,) were made prisoners of war. It was not at that time known how they had defended themselves, as no accounts of what passed had been got, either from Major Wentforth, who commanded, or any other officer of the garrison. Other advices said, that the place was invested on the 23d of February, the third day after the rebels got possession of Fort George; that the garrison defended themselves two days; but that their powder magazine taking fire, they were obliged to surrender. According

According to the above accounts from Aberdeen, of the 14th, the rebels were laying in their magazines and stores at Fort Augustus; and had blown up Fort George; in doing which, their Chief Engineer, Colonel Grant, was killed. It was thought, that all the advantage they could gain by the taking of those two forts, and the retreat of Lord Loudon, would be, the drawing the seat of the war into the hills, and protracting it a little time. The only junction they gained there, was some few of the Mackenzies, headed by the Lady Seafort. The Lord of that name, however, and the Lord of Macintosh, were both with Lord Loudon; but the wife of this last was likewise in the rebellion.

As to what happened to the South of this, by advices of the 4th from the Duke of Athol, the party of the rebels then nearest to Blair was at Dalnaspedal, twelve miles to the North of it; from whence to Inverness they were in possession of the whole country, and guarded the passes so strictly, that there was no getting any certain intelligence about them: Sir Andrew Agnew, with his 500 men, continued at Blair; and his Grace had sent a party to Mar, and retaken the young Laird of Invercauld, who was at his father's house upon parole, having been made prisoner at Preston. — Besides the garrisons of regular forces at Blair and Castle Menzies, there were about 200 Argyleshire highlanders in different parties; one at the foot of Rannoch, under the command of Glenure; others at Blairsetty, three miles West of Blair. At two in the morning of the 17th, these out-parties were all surprised by the rebels, about half a dozen killed, and the rest taken prisoners, except a few that escaped. This corps of the rebels consisted of Macphersons, Macintoshes, and some Atholmen, in all about 700, under the command of Lord George Murray. They marched from Ruthven only on the 16th. At Dalnaspedal, small parties were detached to the three places above mentioned, and Lord George with the main body marched directly for Blair. He arrived at this place, and the three detachments at those to which they were respectively ordered, all about the same time, so

as none of the Argyleshire parties could warn another of their danger. In the evening, two of the rebels cannon, four-pounders, arrived at Blair; with which they began to play on the morning of the 18th; but did little hurt, other than damaging some parts of the roof. Sir Andrew Agnew, with his men, were blockaded in the castle; and guards were posted by the rebels at both ends of the pass of Killichranky, and at all other places and avenues leading to Blair. The rebels were highly enraged against the King's troops, because some of their houses in Athol had been plundered; and several of the country-people, that had been formerly forced into the rebellion, and were returned home, joined Lord George upon his coming among them at that time. Besides, the fiery cross was ordered thro' all places where they went, by which every man betwixt sixteen and sixty years of age was required to appear, on pain of the severest military execution. It was certain that there were parties of them at Dunkeld and Invar, and some said at Nairn house, which is but five miles from Perth.——The rebels were at that time in several large bodies and smaller parties from the West to the East seas; about 1500 at Fort William, Camerons, Mackdonalds, Appin Stewarts, and some French; much the same number after Lord Loudon to Ross-shire; the Gordons and lowlanders upon the Spey; and the Macphersons, some of the Macintoshes, and Atholmen, in Athol: so that tho' there was scarce 2000 in any one place, yet they could all join in three days.

On the news of the rebels endeavouring to force the castle of Blair, two Hessian battalions that had been left at Stirling, marched to Crief on the 19th; and on the 24th, those at Perth, consisting of four battalions, moved Northward, incamped that night at Nairn-house, next day 600 of them marched to Dunkeld, as did the rest on the 26th, and two battalions from Crief were to incamp at Tay bridge on the 27th. From the 26th to the 31st the Hessians continued at Dunkeld. At that time their hussars and the outscouts of the rebels exchanged some shots; but without any hurt on either side, other than  
the



the wounding of one hussar. On Monday the 31<sup>st</sup> 500 Hessians, with St. George's dragoons, marched and incamped at Dowallie, four miles from Dunkeld, on the road to Blair. Next day they proceeded to Pitlochrie, which is but six miles from Blair. St. George's dragoons and the Hessian hussars, commanded by the Earl of Crawford, and accompanied by the Duke of Athol, were a good way before the foot. At Pitlochrie an advanced party of the rebels drew up in order of battle to oppose the King's troops. Lord Crawford drew up his men likewise, sent orders to the foot to hasten their march, and dispatched an express for a reinforcement from the Prince, who was at Dunkeld. His Serene Highness immediately ordered 500 men to march; which they did accordingly, and incamped on the Tuesday night at Dowallie. But the rebels, before the foot were come up to Lord Crawford, retired; and making a small compass, posted themselves at the east end of the pass of Killichranky, about four miles from Blair. Lord Crawford with the dragoons remained at Pitlochrie on Tuesday night; but the Hessians were recalled to Dunkeld; and accordingly the whole were returned thither early on Wednesday morning. Mean time, instead of guarding the pass of Killichranky, the rebels quitted that post on Tuesday night, and retired to Blair; whence on Wednesday morning, they proceeded Northward by Drumuachker, General Wade's road. On notice of this, the Earl of Crawford, with a party of dragoons, marched, and arrived at Blair castle on Thursday at five o'clock in the morning. His Lordship was followed by the Duke of Athol, and both were received by Sir Andrew Agnew. The Prince of Hesse set out from Dunkeld for Blair on Friday, with all the cavalry and hussars, and was followed by 1000 foot. Having staid a day or two at Blair, the troops returned to Dunkeld, and from thence the whole of them marched to Perth.—Sir Andrew Agnew's conduct was highly applauded. The garrison were so reduced, that they had nothing to live upon but horse-flesh for some days before the rebels left

the country. 'Tis said the hussars were guilty of irregularities in Athol.

A letter from Athol gives the following account of the siege of Blair castle. " It gives me some pain, to observe that your news-writers have taken so little notice of the gallant defence made by the garrison at Blair. The rebels, by marching all night, concealed their design so well, that they were within two miles of Blair before the garrison had any notice of their being nearer than Badenoch. How soon they got intelligence, they with great alertness carried their sick from one of the office-houses near the castle, and took in their horses, with what forage and fuel was at hand. Afterwards Sir Andrew Agnew drew up his men before the castle, and kept them under arms for some hours, offering the rebels battle. But they were too wise to attack the Lieutenant-Colonel of the Scots fusileers, whose bravery they were no strangers to. When Sir Andrew perceived that they kept themselves behind park-dikes, he drew his men into the castle, and made proper dispositions for standing a siege. All Monday the 17th of March, being the first day of the siege, there was little firing. The rebels paraded round the castle at a great distance, endeavouring to make their numbers appear as great as possible. Early on Tuesday morning they began to play upon the castle with two pieces of cannon, a four pounder and a three pounder. But observing that no impression was made upon the wall, they pointed their cannon at the roof, and did a good deal of damage, especially after they began to throw red-hot bullets, of which they threw a great many: but such was the alertness of the garrison, that their carpenters were ready to cut out the bullets where-ever they stuck, and to throw them out, or cool them in water. The rebels, after having thrown 207 cannon-bullets, of which 185 were red-hot, and done a good deal of damage to the roof and wainscoting, sent off their cannon to Dalnachardich, so as not to retard them in case of a retreat; which they began to think of in good earnest when the Hessians approached. The Earl of Crawford, at the head

head of the dragoons, and a detachment of the Hessians, having advanced to Pitlochrie on Tuesday the 1st of April, the rebels quartered there formed, to give them battle. Lord Crawford formed on the other side. On this the rebels retired; with design, as they gave out, to decoy the troops into the pass of Killichranky. But missing their aim in this, and dreading lest Lord Crawford should steal a march upon them thro' the hills above Moulin, hearing likewise that there was a detachment marching from Tay bridge by Kynichan; therefore, for fear of being inclosed, they decamped on Tuesday night, and marched off with great precipitation for Badenoch, after having almost ruined the poor country they pretended to deliver, eating up the little meal that was left by the many parties who travelled thro' it that year.—After Sir Andrew Agnew had been a week shut up, he found means to send off two men from the castle; who, about twelve at night, made their way through the rebel-guards, and reached Perth next day before two o'clock in the afternoon, after having fetched a terrible compass round the hills.

It was observed above, that a body of the rebels had gone after Lord Loudon.—A small party of his regiment was surprised, and taken prisoners, some few excepted, who made their escape by flight. The particulars are thus related. “The rebels having collected a number of fishing boats at Findhorn, and two other small places in the Murray frith, put four men on board each, and, by the favour of a thick fog, which lasted eight days, coasted round Torbotness to Tyne in Rossshire, where a body of their men lay. There they embarked, to the number of 12 or 1500, under the command of the Duke of Perth, the Earl of Cromertie, and Clanronald; and on the 20th of March, at eight in the morning, they crossed the ferry, and landed on the Sutherland side, about two miles West of Dornoch, where 200 of Loudon's regiment were cantoned. On notice of the rebels landing, 140 of Loudon's men retired Eastward. The other 60 were surprised, and made prisoners; among whom were the Major, Mackenzie, Captains, Sutherland of Fosse, and Mackintosh of that ilk, and



Adjutant Robert Grant. Lord Loudon had left Dornoch that morning about five o'clock, and gone Westward, to reconnoitre the different passes where the rest of his men were stationed; dreading nothing from that quarter, as he had carried all the boats over to the opposite shore, and judged it impracticable to bring any from the Murray frith, three ships of war being stationed there." Advice was received that Lord Loudon, the Lord President, the Laird of Macleod, &c. with about 800 men, had got safe into the isle of Sky; that General Campbell had sent them a ship with provisions; and that they were soon expected at Dunstaffnage, to join the Argyleshiremen.

To return now to Aberdeen: By putting together all the intelligence got about the middle of March, it seemed pretty clear, that there were then few or none of the clans in Murray, or on that side the country; and that all the rebels then on the Spey, and which had made some shew, were the lowlanders, and the greatest part of the French.

Major-General Bland marched from Aberdeen on the 12th to Inverury and Old Meldrum, one march towards the Spey, with the battalion of the Royal Scots, Barrell's, Price's, and Colmondeley's, Cobham's dragoons, and Kingston's horse, having the Campbells before him, with the Laird of Grant and 100 of his followers.

Advice was sent to Aberdeen from Stonehive on the 14th, that a doggar and some other vessels appeared off the coast, which they took to be French.

The Duke having received intelligence on the 16th, that Roy Stewart was at Strathbogie, with about 1000 foot and 60 hussars, sent Colonel Conway with orders to Major-General Bland, to attempt to surprize them, and if he should not succeed in that, to attack them; and his Royal Highness ordered Brigadier Mordaunt, with our battalions (the Scots fusileers, Brag's, Monro's, and Battereau's) and four pieces of cannon, to march by break of day next morning to Old Meldrum, in order to sustain Major-General Bland, if there should be occasion. Accordingly Major-General Bland marched on the 17th towards

towards Strathbogie, and was almost within sight of the place when the rebels had the first notice of his approach. Upon which they abandoned the town, and fled with the utmost precipitation towards Keith. General Bland's van-guard pushed their rear a good way beyond the river Deveron: but as the night was coming on, and the evening was wet and hazy, his Excellency ordered the troops to quit the pursuit. Notwithstanding which, the volunteers, *viz.* the Marquis of Granby, Colonel Conway, Captain Haldane, and several others, continued to pursue the rebels at least two miles; whose panic was so great, that it was concluded they would not halt long in a place till they had passed the Spey. The Campbells, who had the van, behaved extremely well; as did also Kingston's horse, and in general all the troops. It was reported from among the rebels, that Roy Stewart was killed by a shot he received from one of Kingston's men;—or, according to other accounts, wounded in the arm.

A Captain of highlanders, whom General Bland detached with 70 highlanders and 30 of Kingston's men, to Keith from Strathbogie, was surprised (on the night of the 20th) and lost his whole party, except a Cornet, five men and two horses of Kingston's, and one highlander, who made their escape. The rebels (about 400) marched from Fochabers in the night, surrounded Keith, and entered at both ends. As the Campbells lay in the church, and defended the church yard for above half an hour, during which there was very brisk firing, it was not doubted but the rebels paid dear for this advantage. Captain Campbell, a Serjeant, and five private men of the King's troops were killed.

By the 26th, the King's army were divided in three cantonments; the whole first line, consisting of six battalions, Kingston's horse and Cobham's dragoons, under the command of Lord Albemarle and Major General Bland at Strathbogie, within twelve miles of the Spey; the reserve, consisting of three battalions, with four pieces of cannon, under the command of Brigadier Mordaunt, at Old Meldrum, half way between Strathbogie

and Aberdeen; and the whole second line, consisting of the six remaining battalions, (Bligh's having been then arrived), and Mark Kerr's dragoons at Aberdeen. About this time, the advanced parties of the rebels and of the corps at Strathbogie were within a mile of each other every night; their scouts and reconnoitring parties exchanged some shots; and, for fear of a surprise, the troops were kept under arms several nights successively, being obliged to take what sleep they could get, in the day time.

According to letters from Aberdeen, of the 26th, certain intelligence was received, that the Earl of Airly, father of Lord Ogilvy, was raising his men, to join the rebels; and orders had been sent him by the Duke, to desist from such treasonable practices. This, however, his Lordship did not comply with; and therefore Captain Hewett, with 100 recovered men who were coming up to the army, were sent to take possession of his house, and to make him prisoner in it, until his people should bring in their arms, and behave as good subjects: which soon had some good effect, as a number thereupon brought in their arms. (The Earl soon after went to Edinburgh). 'Tis added, that his Royal Highness had also ordered Major La Fausille, with 300 men, to go to Glenesk, one of the most rebellious parts, to attack all whom he found in arms against the government, and to burn the habitations of such as had left them, and were with the rebels.—A letter from Brechin said, That they would certainly have been swallowed up, if the Duke had not been so good as send this detachment to their assistance; for that one David Ferrier, an old smuggler, had, with a small party of the rebels, taken up his quarters in Glenesk; had sent down parties almost to the very ports of Brechin, and carried off men, horses, arms, &c. and had raised about 200 men in Glenesk and Glenprosen: That Major La Fausille made a trip to Edzell, burnt the meeting house of Lethnet, and laid two or three of the richest Jacobites under a small contribution; that he next paid Lord Airly a visit, traversed Glenprosen and Clova, and there took some greater freedoms; that he burnt or destroyed all the  
meeting



meeting-houses where-ever he came; that it cost some pains to save Glenesk from being burnt from end to end, being a nest of Jacobites; and that these measures, with some threats had the desired effect, all having submitted, and partly delivered up their arms.

By the best accounts at that time, there were few or none of the rebels left upon the Spey side, and they were removing all their magazines to the Northward of the Chain (a name given to the road leading from Inverness to Fort William) into Caithness. Some prisoners that made their escape from them reported, that they were in the utmost distress for provisions, insomuch that the raw green kail from the farmers yards were looked on as a feast.

A party of the rebels came to the Earl of Findlater's house at Cullen on the 27th, with an order from the Pretender's son, to burn the house, unless his steward and tenants immediately paid the cess and levy that they demanded.—Other advices said, that they risted the house.

Several deserters that were come into Aberdeen on the 21st, confirmed the intelligence formerly received, that the rebel-army were in great want of money, having had no pay for seven days before. They were endeavouring to embark their lowlanders, and force them to pass the Murray frith into Sutherland; but 200 of Stonywood's men, whom they were attempting to embark at Findhorn, deserted.

Letters of the 26th from Kirkwall in Orkney gave an account, that a New-England ship, commanded by one Captain Sinclair, of 14 guns, some swivels, 150 small arms, and about 10 barrels of gun-powder, loaded at Newcastle, had put into Stromness on pretence of her being unable to proceed in her voyage to Boston, and was there seized by six highlanders and six Orkneymen, assisted by the Captain; who it seems had a correspondence with the rebels, and with a Gentleman in the Orkneys of known attachment to them. The crew fled, and the mate made his escape.

The Hazard sloop, taken by the rebels in November last, and called the *Prince Charles Stewart*, which had been of great use to them, was retaken. She was drove ashore.

ashore at Ostend by two English privateers, and thought to be destroyed; but being afterwards repaired, she sailed; and, being an excellent sailor, escaped the vigilance and pursuit of six or seven English ships that were cruising off that port to watch her. On the 24th of March, she was descried by four English ships at anchor off Troop head. On sight of them she bore away. Thereupon the Sheerness, Captain Obrian, cut, gave her chase quite though Pentland frith, about 50 leagues, kept a running fight for two hours, and at last run her aground in Tongue bay. Here they landed their men late in the evening of the 25th, and came to a Gentleman's opposite to Tongue. Lord Rea's militia, and about 100 men of Lord Loudon's regiment, with the Captains, Alexander Mackay, Sir Henry Monro, young Macleod, and Lord Charles Gordon, two subalterns, and the Surgeon, all left by Lord Loudon in Sutherland when he went to Sky, were at this time not far from Tongue. Lord Rea, on notice of the landing of the men, sent a boat with proper persons to get intelligence of their numbers, &c. On whose return, it was concerted by his Lordship and the officers, immediately to convey as many of the men as lay nearest, and to run expresses to such as were at a greater distance, with orders to join them with all expedition. About 50 of Loudon's men, and the like number of Rea's, marched by break of day, and in two hours came up with the French; who had forced a guide to lead them off in the night. The French drew up, and being attacked made several fires: but the highlanders, after discharging their firelocks, attacked them sword-in-hand. Thereupon the French, having five or six men killed, and as many more wounded and seeing Captain George Mackay coming up with a reinforcement of fresh men, surrendered. They were carried prisoners to Tongue, and the same night put on-board the Sheerness. One highlander was wounded. There were in whole of the French, 20 officers, and 120 soldiers and sailors; of which upwards of 30 were killed and a good many wounded by the Sheerness, before they landed. A good deal of arms and ammunition,

with

with 13,000*l.* Sterling, all English gold except 1000 French guineas, was found on board.—The officers taken were: Colonel Brown.—Of Berwick's regiment, Captains, Macmahon and Rogers; Lieutenants, Edward and William Barnavals, Nugent, and Maurice.—Of Hainault, Captain Macmahon.—Of Claire's, Lieutenants, Obrian, Brimingham, and Osborn.—Of the Royal Scots in France, Lieutenants, Barnaval and Weyard.—Of the French Gens d'Armes, M. Shabillard.—In the Spanish service, Captain Gould, Lieutenant Hynd.—Of the Irish grenadeers in the Spanish service, Captains, Maepherson, Sinclair, and Hay.—A Spanish engineer M. Faro.—And M. Salbold, Captain of the Hazard.

Intelligence was received by Lord Rea on the 29th, from Andrew Ross Sherriff-depute of Orkney, that Captain Sinclair, above mentioned, had laid an embargo on twelve merchant-ships in Stromness harbour; and designed, with the assistance of a rebel-party then at Kirkwall, under the command of Lord Macleod, son of the Earl of Cromertie, to secure them for the use of the Pretender. Lord Rea immediately sent notice to the Sheerness: which thereupon sailed directly, relieved the merchant ships, and seized Sinclair's, but he himself made his escape. Captain Obrian found a good deal of small arms, broad swords, ammunition, and several treasonable letters on board.

Lord Rea having been threatened by letters from the Earl of Cromertie with fire and sword, unless his men would submit to the rebels, and deliver up their arms, went soon after this to Edinburgh, with his family, as did Lord Loudon's men to Aberdeen, both by sea. Captain Obrian then sailed for the frith of Forth, and sent the two prizes, the Hazard, and Sinclair's ship, to Leith-road. The prisoners were carried to Berwick.

While the army lay at Aberdeen, some of the soldiers discovered an inclination to use the same freedoms there that had been taken in Perthshire. But it was assured in several letters, that the Duke discountenanced such practices. One dated at Aberdeen, March 24<sup>th</sup> said,



said, "Some detached parties having pillaged James Gordon of Cowbairdie's house, (who was in the rebellion); and his Lady having, by Lord Forbes, her father, petitioned the Duke, his Royal Highness thereupon ordered a strict inquiry to be made into the matter, and 100 guineas to be given the Lady for her losses; declaring that there never was an order for taking any effects belonging to the rebels, other than their cattle and forage, for that the rest was to be left to the law. By this it appears that his Royal Highness knew not of some little outrages committed, but punished them when known."——It appears, that some officers were likewise criminal. Lieutenant Fawlie, of Fleming's regiment, was broke at Montrose, on the 24th of February, for disobedience of orders, forfeiture of his word of honour, and prevarication before a court-martial held on him in consequence of his plundering the house of Mr. Oliphant of Gask, who was with the rebels. This was one of the Gentlemen who had some of their household-goods, &c. auctioned at Perth. What the orders were that Lieutenant Fawlie disobeyed, or wherein he forfeited his honour, was not mentioned; but the following case is more particular, (as it was inserted by order in the Edinburgh news-paper), dated at Aberdeen, March 27th, and signed by *Lieutenant-Colonel David Cunningham*, *President* of the court-martial, and by *David Bruce, D. J. Advocate, viz.* "At a general court-martial held at Aberdeen the 23d day of March instant, by order of his Royal Highness William Duke of Cumberland, &c. &c. &c. the following sentence was pronounced against Ensign Daniel Hart, of late Sir Robert Monroe's regiment, for extorting six guineas from the wife of Francis Ross merchant in Aberdeen, upon his promising to protect her house and shop, *viz.* "It appearing evident to the court, from the preceeding depositions, and the prisoner's own confession, that he is guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, do therefore unanimously adjudge him to be cashiered, and rendered incapable of ever serving in any capacity under his Majesty; and ordain this his sentence to be publicly  
" read

“ read to him at the head of the piquets; and require  
“ David Bruce, Depute Judge Advocate for his Royal  
“ Highness’s army, to transmit a copy of the sentence to  
“ Edinburgh, to be insert in the publick news papers.”

—His Royal Highness approved of the above sentence, and discharged his following the army any further. Two soldiers of Fleming’s regiment were hanged at Aberdeen, for plundering several houses in that neighbourhood; and a spy was likewise executed there. The rebels did the same by a man for carrying letters to some friends of the government.

Great encomiums were daily made upon the Duke.— One in particular from Aberdeen, of the 9th of March, says, “ His Royal Highness is in good health, and all degrees of people are charmed with his deportment. Even the disaffected cannot help saying, that his presence alone is equal to an army: and our friends, when they see him equally attentive to business and diversion, and as solicitous to please, as to execute his office, ask us, whether the Duke was sent down to civilize, or to subdue the North? We answer, He is come to do both. The late hard weather has afforded him leisure enough for the former; and as the air grows warmer, he will infallibly take the necessary measures for performing the latter; and till the season would allow, even Cæsar himself must have staid.”

According to letters from Aberdeen, of the 31st, the continued ill weather during the month of March, had raised the waters of the Spey so high, that the army still remained in that city and neighbourhood; but his Royal Highness proposed to march as soon as possible.

Several small parties came to Edinburgh from England during this month, regulars and irregulars, and marched to the posts assigned them. Considerable sums of money for the use of army, and great quantities of stores provisions, &c. likewise came to Scotland from England. Lee’s regiment from Berwick came to Edinburgh on the 16th, and were quartered in the suburbs. The Edinburgh regiment is still kept up. They do duty not only in town, but likewise in Canongate, the

the castle, &c. when there is occasion; and twelve of them with a Serjeant, went on the 3d of March, for Blakness castle to reinforce the garrison there. The freeholders of the shire of Mid-Lothain, at a general meeting held on the 14th, resolved, that they should pay up their full cess, without asking deduction of what they had been obliged to pay to the rebels.—On the 27th four surgeon-lads, who had attended the rebels in their expedition to England, and had been prisoners some time in Edinburgh castle, were sent under a guard for London; and on the 1st of April, several prisoners taken up on suspicion at Perth, were brought to Edinburgh, some Gentlemen in a coach, the rest on foot, and committed to the castle; but they were brought down the same day to the city-prison.

The King's army, remained at Aberdeen and its neighbourhood till the end of March. Advices thence of the 4th of April say, That the Duke had spared no pains or trouble to put every thing in readiness to have been in motion long before that time, but had met with so many difficulties of cross winds and other accidents as had till then prevented him; that the three last days of dry South wind had brought up their firing and provisions, and, as was hoped, had rendered the Spey fordable; whence a report was expected that day, two officers having been sent to reconnoitre it; that Major La Fausille, having disarmed all the rebels in Clova and Glenesk, was expected there in three or four days, with near 500 recovered men; and that his Royal Highness was making a fort at Aberdeen, in which he was to leave, under the command of Captain Crosby of the Scots fusiliers, a proper force for securing that town from any insults from Glenbucket's people or any others. The hospital founded by Mr. Gordon at Aberdeen, into which no boys had hitherto been admitted, was fitted up for that purpose.

It was added, from Aberdeen, of the same date, that the rebels had fitted out a ship at Finhorn, on board of which they proposed to carry the remainder of their prisoners to France, and that the French Ambassa-

dor



dor had actually arrived there in his coach four days before, in order to embark for France likewise; that the Pretender's son was reported to be still ill at Inverness, and was lodged at the Lady dowager Macintosh's; that the seizing all the cattle and demolishing the habitations of those in Lochaber who were actually out in rebellion, had had a very good effect, all the rebels of that country having thereupon deserted, to go to their own houses; and that, by all that could be learned of the different parties of the rebels, there was great confusion amongst them, which, added to the want of money, had occasioned many mutinies and desertions.

It would seem that more of the rebel's habitations have been demolished than those mentioned, though we have seen accounts of none published.—This desertion was spoke of from different quarters.—They wrote from Inverary, that 600 of the rebels surrendered to the Earl of Albemarle; other letters asserted, that for several days after the 3d of April, they came in by hundreds at a time to General Bland; and it was added, that their Excellencies, after taking their arms from them, permitted them to go home to their own houses peaceably.

The Duke, with the last division of the army, marched from Aberdeen on the 8th, and incamped on the 11th at Cullen; at which place Lord Albemarle joined them, and the whole army was assembled. Next day they marched to the Spey, and passed it, with no other loss than of one dragoon, and four women, who were all drowned. Major General Huske was detached in the morning, with the fifteen companies of grenadeers, the highlanders, and all the cavalry, with two pieces of cannon; and the Duke went with them himself. On their appearance, the rebels, who appeared to be between 2 and 3000, retired from the side of Spey towards Elgin; whereupon Kingston's horse forded over, sustained by the grenadeers and highlanders. But the rebels got out of their reach before they could pass. The foot waded over as fast as they arrived; and tho' the water came up to their middles, they went on with great chearfulness.

They had the finest weather that could be wished for their first incampment, and found plenty of straw and forage. The army incamped on the 12th on the West-side of the Spey, marched thro' Elgin on the 13th, incamped about three miles to the West of it, in the parish of Alves, and on the 14th reached Nairn; where they halted the 15th, being the Duke's birth-day, and employed themselves in putting their arms, &c. in good order.

By this time the rebels had assembled the greatest part of their troops. But the detachment under the command of the Earl of Cromarty and Barisdale were not returned from Sutherland. Lord George Murray arrived at Inverness from Athol on the 4th or 5th of April; but the party that he commanded at the siege of Blair castle, marched thence directly for the Spey. The French who had been at the siege of Fort William, about 300 in number, came into Inverness on the 6th, with five pieces of cannon; but the highlanders who had been on that service, Lochiel's and Keppoch's men, did not arrive till the 14th and 15th.

The party commanded by the Earl of Cromarty was attacked, on the 15th, at Golspie, by Lord Sutherland's people, and routed, only 50 escaped. About 40 of them were killed or drowned; some were wounded; the Earl, his son, some officers, and upwards of 150 private men, were made prisoners; and about 1200 l. in cash was seized. None of Lord Sutherland's people were killed, and but few wounded.

On Wednesday the 16th, a decisive battle was fought, on Drummossie moor, South of Culloden house, two miles from Inverness. An express dispatched by the Duke of Athol from Perth reached Edinburgh late on Saturday night, with the news; and about the same time, or next day, letters were received from Aberdeen, all agreed, that the King's army under the command of the Duke had obtained a compleat and glorious victory; that about 500 of the rebels were killed in the field of battle, and about other 500 in the pursuit; that the King's troops sustained very little loss; and that part

of the rebels fled towards Badenoch and Fort Augustus, and others through Inverness to Ross-shire. At two o'clock on Sunday morning, the castle notified the news by a round of great guns, and it was answered by the ships of war in Leith road. An express from the Duke was now impatiently looked for.—By the 22d, notice was received, that the battle was very bloody, no quarter having been given on either side while it lasted, which was but about half an hour; that 1000 of the rebels were left dead in the field; and that about 200 were-killed or wounded on the King's side. These particulars came by Lord Bury, Aid de Camp to the Duke, who was dispatched from Inverness on the 16th at seven o'clock at night, with letters from his Royal Highness to the King. He came South by sea, landed at North-berwick on the 21st, sent the above account to Edinburgh, and then set out for London.—About the same time the following letter came to town, from a Gentleman in the army, dated at Inverness, on the 16th, viz. "At last we have done it.—The rebels this day have met with a confounded drubbing.—The Duke and all our Generals are well.—Lord Robert Ker was wounded; Colonel Rich lost his left hand; and Captain Grosfete of Price's was, I am told, among the slain.—Our loss otherwise was very inconsiderable.—Of the rebels were a d—n'd number killed, and an innumerable multitude of prisoners, &c."—Thus all subsequent advices, not only confirmed what had been related before, but made the victory more compleat: and on the morning of the 23d, one of the King's messengers arrived at Edinburgh, with letters from Inverness of the 19th, containing the following particulars, viz.

"His Royal Highness with the army incamped the 15th at Nairn; and the rebels, hoping to surprise him there, marched within three miles of our camp: but upon intelligence that our drums were beating, in order to march to attack them, they retired to the ground they had chosen to engage us in; which was a moor near to the house of Culloden. His Royal Highness marched



thither the 16th, and came up with the rebels at one afternoon. The action begun by the fire of the rebels cannon; which ours answered with success, and very soon brought their first line, consisting altogether of their clans, in a great hurry to attack us. Their right wing outfronted our left; which fell in a little: but our men fairly beat them back with their bayonets, and made a great slaughter of them. They made the same movement on their left; but the regiments on our right, where his Royal Highness was, did not take their firelocks from their shoulders. Though the rebels came down firing their pistols, and brandishing their swords, three times, within less than one hundred yards; yet they dared not to attack us; but went off without attempting any thing. The rebels looked upon themselves as quite covered on their right wing by the walls of a park: but the Generals Hawley and Bland, with that part of our cavalry that was posted on our left, got through these walls, by the assistance of the Campbells who made several openings for them, and attacked their right wing and made great slaughter; and at the same time the horse from our right attacked their left flank, so that our cavalry met in their centre. By this time (which was not half an hour from the first firing of the cannon) they were quite routed, and the horse had orders to pursue; which they did for above three miles, with great execution. The rebel prisoners said, they lost on the field and in the pursuit above 4000 men. We had 222 French, and 326 rebel prisoners, besides officers. We took 12 cannon, a great deal of ammunition, and about 2400 firelocks. Our loss was 50 officers and soldiers killed, and 250 wounded. Lord Kilmarnock and some other officers of note were taken, and many of the highland chiefs were killed. This great event, under God, was entirely the work of his Royal Highness. The disposition, and the ordering the execution of it, was all his own.

To this account was subjoined the return of the rebel officers and soldiers then prisoners at Inverness, as follows, *viz.* 3 Colonels: Lord Kilmarnock, Stirlingshire; Francis

Francis Farquharson, Aberdeenshire; and Maclachlan, Invernesshire.—1 Major, James Stewart, of Perth's regiment.—5 Captains: John Farquharson, of Farquharson's regiment; Alexander Cuming and Alexander Buchannan, of Perth's; Andrew Wood, of Roy Stewarts's; and Andrew Spruel, of Pitligo's.—1 Lieutenant: George Gordon, of Glenbucket's.—3 Ensigns: Duncan Macgrigor, of Farquharson's; and James Lindsay, of Strathallan's; and James Hay, of Pitligo's.—1 Engineer: John Finlayson, from Edinburgh.—1 Deputy Paymaster, Nairn, from Edinburgh.—1 Chaplain: George Law, from Aberdeen.—2 Surgeons: George Lauder and John Rattray, from Edinburgh.—4 Lifeguards, under the command of Lord Elcho: Sir John Wedderburn, from Angus; Walter Gordon, from Mid-Lothian; Andrew Cassie, from Tweeddale; and James Bradshaw, from Manchester.—1 Cadet in the French piquets: Donald Ferguson, of Perth's regiment; and David Fraser, of the Master of Lovat's.—John Macintire, of Argyleshire, Bawman to the Pretender; George Addison, from Aberdeen, of Pitligo's regiment, Bawman.—229 private men; one of which, Donald Fraser, a dumb man of Lord Lovat's, was said to have killed seven men at Falkirk. 89 deserters from different regiments of the King's troops.

A list was likewise annexed, of prisoners at Inverness, to be tried by a civil court for being aiding and assisting to the Pretender while in this country, viz. John Gordon, factor to the Duke of Gordon; Alexander Innes, Commissary-Clerk of Aberdeenshire; William Weaver, of Aberdeenshire; Christopher Patter, of Yorkshire; John Cowie, Edward Smith, Alexander Shand, Alexander Clerk, Joseph Grant, and John Korrack, of Murrayshire; John Seed of London; William Gordon and John Ritchie, of Aberdeen; John Innes, of Buchan; Daniel Barber, John Shaw, James Murray, and John Taylor, of Inverness; James Brander, John Johnston, William Fenwick, John Christy, and William Mackay, of Elgin; and John Macdonald, Chelsea pensioner.

The first accounts of this action reached London on the 23d, and Lord Bury arrived there next morning with the Duke's letter to the King,—These advices were published in *extraordinary Gazettes* as soon as possible after they came to hand, and were much the same with what we have already related. On the 26th a messenger from the Duke arrived at London; and next day the following paper was published there by authority.

*Inverness, April 18.*

ON Tuesday the 15th (we were informed that) the rebels (had) burnt Fort Augustus; which convinced us of their resolution to stand an engagement with the King's troops. We gave our men a day's halt at Nairn, and on the 16th marched from thence, between four and five, in four columns. The three lines of foot (reckoning the reserve for one) were broken into three columns equal, and each of five battalions; the artillery and baggage followed the first column upon the right, and the cavalry made the fourth column on the left.

After we had marched about eight miles, our advanced guard, composed of about 40 of Kingston's (horse), and the highlanders, led by the Quartermaster-General, perceived the rebels at some distance making a motion towards us on the left; upon which we immediately formed; but finding the rebels were still a good way from us, and that the whole body did not come forward, we put ourselves again upon our march in our former posture, and continued it to within a mile of them; where we again formed in the same order as before. After reconnoitring their situation, we found them posted behind some walls and huts, in a line with Culloden house. As we thought our right entirely secure, (by a morass), General Hawley and General Bland went to the left with the two regiments of dragoons, to endeavour to fall upon the right flank of the rebels. and Kingston's horse was ordered to the reserve. The ten pieces of cannon were disposed, two in each of the intervals of the first line; and all our highlanders (except about 140 which



which were upon the left with General Hawley, and who behaved extremely well) were left to guard the baggage.

When we were advanced within 500 yards of the rebels, we found the morass upon our right was ended; which left our right flank quite uncovered to them: his Royal Highness thereupon immediately ordered Kingston's horse from the reserve, and a little squadron of about 60 of Cobham's, which had been patrolling, to cover our flank; and Pultney's regiment was ordered from the reserve to the right of the Royals.

We spent above half-an hour after that, trying which should gain the flank of other; and his Royal Highness having sent Lord Bury forward within 100 yards of the rebels, to reconnoitre somewhat that appeared like a battery unto us, they thereupon began firing their cannon; which was extremely ill served and ill pointed. Ours immediately answered which began their confusion. They then came running on in their wild manner; and upon the right, where his Royal Highness had placed himself, imagining the greatest push would be there, they came down three several times within 100 yards of our men, firing their pistols and brandishing their swords. But the Royals and Pultney's hardly took their firelocks from their shoulders so that after those faint attempts they made off: and the little squadrons on our right were sent to pursue them. General Hawley had, by the help of our highlanders beat down two little stone walls, and came in upon the right flank of their second line.

As their whole first line came down to attack at once, their right, somewhat out-flanked Barrel's regiment, which was our left; and the greatest part of the little loss we sustained, was there: but Bligh's and Sempill's giving a fire upon those who had outflanked Barrel's, soon repulsed them, and Barrel's regiment and the left of Monro's fairly beat them with their bayonets. There was scarce a soldier or officer of Barrel's, and of that

part of Monro's which engaged, who did not kill one or two men each with their bayonets, and spontoons.\*

The cavalry, which had charged from right to left, met in the centre, except two squadrons of dragoons, which we missed, and they were gone in the pursuit of the runaways. Lord Ancrum was ordered to pursue with the horse as far as he could; and did it with so good effect, that a very considerable number was killed in the pursuit.

As we were in our march to Inverness, and were near arrived there, Major-General Bland sent the annexed papers, which he received from the French officers and soldiers surrendering themselves prisoners, to his Royal highness. Major-General Bland had also made great slaughter, and took about 50 French officers and soldiers prisoners, in his pursuit.

By the best calculation that can be made, it was thought the rebels lost 2000 men upon the field of battle, and in the pursuit. We have here 222 French, and 326 rebel prisoners, as will appear by lists hereunto annexed. Lieutenant Colonel Howard killed an officer, who appeared to be Lord Strathallan, by the seal, and different commissions from the Pretender found in his pocket.

It was said Lord Perth, Lord Nairn, Lochiel, Keppoch, and Appin Stewart, were also killed. All their artillery and ammunition, of which a list is also annexed, were taken as well as the pretender's and all their baggage. There were also 12 colours taken,

All the Generals, officers, and soldiers, did their utmost in his Majesty's service, and shewed the greatest zeal and bravery on this occasion.

The Pretender's son, it was said, lay at Lord Lovat's house at Aird, the night after the action. Brigadier Mordaunt

\* A weapon used of late years by the officers of foot, instead of the half-pike. The spontoon has a longer and larger blade at the end of the staff, than that of the half-pike; and is rendered more fit for execution, by a cross stop, which makes it easily recovered when thrust into the enemy; whereas the half-pike usually run so far, as to be often lost or broken on those occasions.

Mordaunt was detached with 900 volunteers that morning into the Frasers country, to attack all the rebels he might find there. Lord Sutherland's and Lord Rea's people continue to exert themselves, and have taken upwards of 100 rebels, who were sent for; and there was great reason to believe Lord Cromarty, and his son, were also taken. The Monro's have killed 50 of the rebels in their flight. As it was not known where the greatest bodies of them were, or which way they had taken their flight, his Royal Highness had not determined which way to march. On the 17th, as his Royal Highness was at dinner, three officers, and about 16 of Fitzjames's regiment, who were mounted, came, and surrendered themselves prisoners.

The killed, wounded, and missing of the King's troops, (as by the annexed list), amounted to above 300.

The French officers were all sent to Carlisle, till his Majesty's pleasure should be known.

The rebels, by their own accounts, make their loss greater by two thousand than we had stated it. Four of their principal Ladies were in custody, viz. Lady Ogilvy, Lady Kinloch, Lady Gordon, and the Laird of Macintosh's wife. Major-Grant, the Governor of Inverness, is retaken; and the Generals Hawley, Lord Albemarle, Huske and Bland, have orders to inquire into the reason for the surrendering of Fort George.

Lord Cromarty. Lord Macleod his son, with other prisoners, were brought in from Sutherland by the Hound sloop, which his Royal Highness had sent for them.

*Translation of a letter from the officers in the service of his Most Christian Majesty, who were at Inverness the day of the battle of Culloden, to Major-General Bland.*

S I R,

*Inverness, April 16.*

THE French officers and soldiers, who are at Inverness, surrender themselves prisoners to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, and hope for every



every thing which is to be expected from the English generosity.—Signed, *Cusack. Murphy. Le Marquis de Guilles. Debau. D'O'Brien. M'Donald.*

To the commanding officer of the troops of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.

*Translation of the parole of honour signed by the officers in the service of his Most Christian Majesty, with their names, titles, &c.*

*Inverness, April 17. 1746.*

**W**E the underwritten, in the service of his Most Christian Majesty, acknowledge ourselves prisoner's of war of his Britannick Majesty; and we engage ourselves upon our parole of honour, not to go out of the town of Inverness, without permission from his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland. In witness whereof, we have signed this, and have thereunto set the seal of our arms. Done at the head-quarters at Inverness, the 17th of April, 1746.

The parole is signed by the 51 officers following *viz* Stapleton, Brigadier of the armies of the Most Christian King, Lieutenant-Colonel; Captains Delahoyde and Patrick Clargue; and Lieutenants Thomas Goold, Pierre O'Reily, and Eugene O'Keaffe, of Berwick's regiment.

Jean M'Donell, Colonel; Lieutenant Barnaval; and Quartermaster Philippe Molloy, of Fitzjames's regiment.

Le Marquis de Guilles, (called by the rebels the French Ambassador), Captain in the marines regiment.

Captains Francois Nugent, (appointed to exercise the function of Quartermaster in the French troops in Scotland, Patrice Nugent, Robert Shee, and Thomas Baggot; Lieutenant Jean Nugent; Cornet De Cook; and Adjutant Mark Baggot, of Fitzjames's horse.

Captain N. Camerford; Lieutenant O Danil; and Thomas Scot, voluntier, in Bulkley's regiment.

Captains Cusack, Richard Bourke, Edouard de Nugent, and John Dillon; and Lieutenants Jean M'Donagh,

agh, Michel Burke, and Carbery Fox, of Dillon's regiment.

Captain Thomas M'Dermott, and Lieutenants Dudley M'Dermott and Peter Taaffe, of Rothe's regiment

Captains Robert Stack, (who being wounded, Murphy signed for him), Richard Murphy, and Alexandre Geoghegan; and Lieutenants Miles Swiny, Patrick Sarsfield, and Jaques Grant of Lally's regiment.

Captain Jean O Bryen, of the regiment of Paris militia.

Captains O'Donohou, Douglas, D'Horton, Jean St. Leger, and Lord Lewis Drummond; and Lieutenants Dicconson, Nairne, and Damary in the Royal Scots.

Charles Guillaume Douglass, Captain in Languedoc.

D'Andrion and Charles Bodin, officers of artillery.

Du Saussay, French engineer.

Alexander Gordon, Chaplain of the French troops.

Pierre Colieno, Second Captain of a Spanish ship.

*Return of ordnance and stores taken at and since the battle of Culloden.*

Brass ordnance, 3 of 1½ lb. 11 of 3 lb. and 4 of 4 lb. Iron ditto, 4 of 4 lb. In all 22.—Brass swivels, 6. Iron ditto, 2. In all 8.—Firelocks of different kinds, 2320. Broad swords and blades, 190. Musket-cartridges, 1500. Shot for ordnance of different natures, 1019. Musket shot, 5 C. Barrels of powder, 37. Ammunition-carts, 22.—Besides smaller stores, some tents, cantines, pouches and carttrough-boxes, pistols, saddles, &c.

*Return of the names of the officers, and number of non-commissioned officers, private men, and horses, killed and wounded.*

*Royal Scots*; 4 men wounded.

*Howards*; 1 man killed, and 2 wounded.

*Barrell's*; Captain Lord Robert Ker, and 16 men, killed. Lieutenant-Colonel Rich, Captain Romer, Lieutenant Edmonds, Ensigns Campbell and Brown, and 103 men, wounded.

*Wolfe*; Ensign Bruce, wounded.

*Price's*;

*Price's*: Captain Grosfette, killed; Captain Simpson, and 8 men wounded.

*Bligh's*: 4 men killed; Lieutenant Trapaud and 16 men wounded.

*Scots fusileers*: 7 men wounded.

*Sempill's*: 1 man killed, and 13 wounded.

*Gholmondeley's*: 1 man killed, and 2 wounded.

*Fleming's*: 6 men wounded.

*Late Monro's*: 14 men killed; Captain Kinnier, Lieutenants King and Lort, Ensigns Dally and Mundock, and 63 men wounded.

*Late Ligonier's*: 1 man killed; Captain Spark, and 4 men, wounded.

*Battereau's*: Captain Carter, and 2 men, wounded.

*Loudon's*: Captain John Campbell, wounded, and dead since; 6 men killed, and 2 wounded.

*Argyleshire militia*: Captain Colin Campbell wounded, and dead since.

*Kingston's horse*: 1 man wounded.

*Cobham's dragoons*: 1 man killed.

*Mark Kerr's dragoons*: 3 men killed, and 3 wounded.

*Artillery*: 1 Gunner, and 5 men wounded.

Rank and file, officers included, total killed 50; wounded 259; missing 1. In all 310.

*Horses*. *Kingston's*: 2 killed, and 1 wounded. *Cobham's*: 4 killed, and 5 wounded. *Mark Kerr's*: 4 killed, and 15 wounded. In all, 10 killed, and 21 wounded.

*List of the prisoners taken in Sutherland the 15 of April, embarked on board his Majesty's sloop the Hound, Captain Dove, Commander.*

The Earl of Cromerty; Lord Macleod, his son; Lieutenant-Colonel Kendall, in the Spanish service; Captain Mackenzie, brother of Ballon; Captain Rodrick Macculloch of Glastulich; Lieutenant Rodrick Mackenzie, brother to Keppoch; Lieutenant Alexander Mackenzie, brother to Dundonald; Lieutenant Alexander Mackenzie of Corrie; George St. Clair of Gees; Hector.



tor Campbell in Caithness; Hector Mackenzie; Lieutenant James Macrac, in the Spanish service; and 152 private men.

*List of the officers who (the rebels themselves said) were killed in the battle.*

Lord Strathallan; Colonels Macleachlan, Cisholm, Mackintosh, Fraser, Macdonald of Keppoch, Cameron of Lochail, Grant, and Macdonald of Clanronald; Captain Macdonald in Clanronald's regiment, Nairn, Farquharson of Whitehouse, and Farquharson of Achrehan; Macdonald of Lochgarry; Ensign Mackintosh; Lord Balmerino; and Duke of Perth, but not certain.

A return published at Edinburgh on the 29th, was as follows.

*Rebel officers killed.* Lord Strathallan; Keppoch, (was said to be a mistake); Colonels Fraser, Mackenzie, and Macintosh; and Major Macbain.

*Rebel officers taken.* The Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromarty; Lord Balmerino; Lord Macleod; Colonel Macgillivray, leader of the Mackintoshes; Colonel Macghee of Shirloch, leader of the Raunachs; Colonel Stewart of Ardsheal, leader of the Stewarts of Appin; and Major Glasgow.

The total killed and taken was 4000. Of which 3050 are killed and wounded; and 700 rebels and deserters, 24 French officers and 226 troopers and foot, are taken.

*Rebel Ladies taken.* Ladies Ogilvy, Kinloch, Gordon, Mackintosh, and Shirloch, and Mrs. Williams.

Of the King's army, 2 officers were killed, and 17 wounded of whom four died afterwards; 48 soldiers were killed, and 267 wounded, but slightly for the most part; making in all, killed and wounded, 334.

Among various reports concerning the situation and circumstances of the rebels before and at the time of the action, are these following.

" Lord John Drummond, who commanded on the Spey, received intelligence, on Thursday the 10th at night, of the Duke's having marched from Aberdeen,

but certain notice of this was not got at Inverness, the Pretender's son's head quarters, till Saturday at noon.

At this time the rebel army was computed to be about 8000 effective men. There were about 2000 of them on the Spey; the like number, at Elgin, Forres Nairn and Inverness; a few, at Cromerty; about 1600, in Sutherland, and Lord Rea's country under the command of Lord Cromarty, Glengyle, Glencairneg, and Barrisdale; the Macphersons, in Badenoch; and the Camerons, the Frasers, and some said Keppoch's men, in their own countries.

On receiving information at Inverness of the Duke's march orders were given to draw their men together with all expedition possible. The corps between Inverness and the Spey retired, as the King's army advanced. Early on Monday morning, the Pretender's son went from Inverness to Nairn either to reconnoitre the ground or to hold a council of war with the officers there, or to get more certain intelligence of the motions and strength of the King's army. He returned to Inverness in the afternoon, and the same evening drew out all the men that were there, to Culloden, two miles East of Inverness. The other rebel corps that had been retiring before the King's army, met those from Inverness there; and the whole lay on their arms in Culloden parks on Monday night. There was only a small quantity of bread delivered them, some said but two biscuits each man, either because they had not enough baked, or because they expected to engage next day, and therefore would not incumber the men with more baggage than was thought absolutely necessary.

Next day they formed in order of battle on Drum-mossie moor, in expectation that the King's army would march up. Lochell with 6 or 700 men had come up on the Monday, as did about the like number of Frasers, and Keppoch with his men, on Tuesday. It was computed they were now 6000 strong; and they had intelligence that the Duke had not above 6500; though they afterwards judged this to be a misinformation, and that he had above 9000. The King's army not having  
moved

moved from Nairn on the Tuesday, as was expected, after sunset the rebels marched Eastward, with design to attack them in their camp before break of day; in hopes, as some people think, to have caught them napping after solemnizing the Duke's birth-day. They marched in two columns, one commanded by Lord George Murray, and the other by the Duke of Perth; and were to meet about two miles from Nairn. Perth's column was too late in coming up, so that the King's army was apprised of their approach. Besides, a great many of their men had fallen off, thinking they might do this in the night unobserved, and hid themselves in the fields; so that when the two columns joined, it was judged, that of 6000 men which had marched off the moor, there were not much above half that number together. These circumstances obliged the rebels to drop their design of attacking the Duke's camp; therefore they returned and came to Culloden about eight o'clock on Wednesday morning, the 16th. Most of the men that had straggled in the march Eastward, joined them in their return. But the army was fatigued by their long march to Nairn and back again, being about eighteen miles; and as they had wanted two nights rest, and had ate but little for two days, a good many of them went to Inverness, and the villages around, and the rest lay down, to refresh themselves.

They were scarce lain down, when notice came that the King's army was approaching. On this they prepared to form the line of battle on the moor; but could not get so many of their men together by upwards of 1000 as they had the day before. The rebels played with five pieces of cannon on the King's army when forming; and they in return played with ten field pieces. This continued near half an hour, and much intimidated the highlanders. Lord George Murray, perceiving that they began to lose their spirits, called to advance. They did so; but not with their usual resolution. Two regiments on the left of the King's army were indeed broke in upon, but elsewhere there was little or no execution done. The horse and the Campbells went behind a



park-dike on the right of the rebels, which they broke down, and flanked them; on which they all fled.

The Mackpherfons were met about five or fix miles from the field of battle on the road to Ruthven in Badenoch. At this place about 2000 of the rebels met next day, and afterwards dispersed. They were under an absolute necessity to hazard a battle, having neither money nor provisions. Their army had got no pay from the 18th of March, only meal; so that the taking of the Hazard sloop has been of great service to the government."

Some of these reports were confirmed by one James Hay, a Scotsman, who calls himself a Captain and Paymaster of Lord John Drummond's regiment. This Gentleman surrendered himself to the Lord Justice-Clerk at Edinburgh on the 29th, and was committed to the castle. He said, that the rebels had not received any pay for some weeks before the battle; that their magazine of provisions being very low, they were forced to try a battle; that, the night before, they were extremely harrassed by marching and countermarching, and were by the Duke's quick march surpris'd before they could get any refreshment; that the French, *viz.* Drummond's regiment, the Irish piquets, and Fitzjames's horse, amounted to between 6 and 700 men at the time of the battle; that of the first 50 were killed in the battle, and of the second about 100; and that he parted from Lord John Drummond at Ruthven, who took the money belonging to the regiment from him, and divided it amongst his officers, desiring every one to shift for himself, as he intended to do.

The following order, dated the 15th of April, and signed, *By his Royal Highness's command, George Murray, Lieutenant General*, said to have been found in the pocket of one of the rebel-prisoners, was inserted in several papers, but never made mention of in the Gazette, *viz.* "*Parole, RIGH SHEMUIS.* It is his Royal Highness's positive orders, that every person attach himself to some corps of the army, and remain with that corps night and day, untill the battle and pursuit be finally over;

ner; and to give no quarter to the Elector's troops on any account whatsoever. This regards the foot as well as the horse.—The order of battle is to be given to every general officer, and every commander of a regiment or squadron.—It is required and expected of each individual in the army, as well officer as soldier, that he keep the post that shall be allotted him; and if any man turn his back to run away, the next behind such man is to shoot him.—No body, upon pain of death, is to strip the slain, or plunder, till the battle be over.—The highlanders to be in kilts, and no body to throw away their guns.”

We shall now add some extracts of letters relating to this memorable event,

“ We cannonaded each other for some time. At last the rebels advanced against the left of our line, where was Barrel's regiment, and that late Monro's. Barrel's behaved with intrepid bravery, but was obliged to give way to the rapid torrent that bore down upon them. Their whole force then fell upon the left of ours, where I had the honour to command the grenadeer-platoon. Our lads fought more like devils than men. In short we laid (to the best of my judgment) about 1600 dead on the spot, and finished the affair without the help of any other regiment. You may judge of the work; for I had 18 men killed and wounded in my platoon. I thank God I escaped free, but my coat had six balls through it. In the midst of the action, the officer that laid on the Camerons, called to me to take quarter: which I refused; and bid the rebel scoundrel advance. He did, and fired at me; but providentially missed his mark. I then shot him dead, and took his pistol and durk, which were extremely neat. No one that attacked us, escaped alive; for we gave no quarter, nor would accept of any.”  
*From a Captain in the regiment late Monro's.*

“ The rebels formed themselves into a close body on our left; and, after firing some of the cannon to very little purpose, pushed down upon our left with great impetuosity. At first some impression was made upon Barrel's regiment, but they soon recovered themselves.

The rebels were flanked on their left by our cartridge-shot, which killed many of them. They fired but once; then, as usual, threw down their firelocks, and closed upon Barrel's, Price's, and Monro's. The battle was now entirely fought between sword and bayonets. Our soldiers, by a new practice of using the latter, became much too hard for the swords; and the rebels, as they pushed forward, fell on certain death. Ours at least killed ten men to their one in this kind of fighting, besides what fell by the musketry and cannon. The rebels finding their only manner of fighting obviated, and those who supported their front cut off, they at first made a short pause, retreated a little, and then turning short round, fled with the utmost precipitation. But by this time our horse and dragoons had closed in upon them from both wings, and then followed a general carnage. The moor was covered with blood; and our men, what with killing the enemy, dabbling their feet in the blood, and splashing it about one another, looked like so many butchers."

"The success has been generally owing to three points of generalship, not thought of in the preceeding actions; or, perhaps, then esteemed of little importance. The first is, the manner of placing the cannon. They were so disposed among the respective regiments, that no impresson on any particular part of the line could divest us of any significant part of our artillery, and by being placed in the centre of each regiment, some pieces were always capable of flanking the enemy, let their attack be on which part of the line soever. This answered the end proposed effectually; and, as far as we could conceive, more of the enemy fell by the fire of the cannon with cartridge-shot from our right, than by the musketry and sword on the left. His Highness had likewise taken care to observe which way the wind sat. This may seem of little importance to some people: but as many battles have been lost or gained by it on land, as well as at sea, and for exactly the same reason; and as we have a very remarkable instance in our view, we cannot help esteeming it of consequence; as those who have



have the wind, see the enemy clearly, and neither have their nostrils filled with sulphur, nor their faces burnt with wadding. The next was, the direction given about the use of the bayonet. The alteration was mighty little, but of the last consequence. Before this, the bayonet-man attacked the sword-man right fronting him: now the left-hand bayonet attacked the sword fronting his next right-hand man. He was then covered by the enemy's shield where open on his left, and the enemy's right open to him. This manner made an essential difference, staggered the enemy, who were not prepared to alter their way of fighting, and destroyed them in a manner rather to be conceived than told.—When the rebels made some little impression on Barrel's regiment, its giving ground proved fatal to Lord Robert Ker; who, not observing his men's giving back, remained a few yards forward alone. He had struck his pike into the body of a highland officer; but before he could disengage himself, was surrounded, and cut to pieces.”

“About five o'clock in the morning, we marched from Nairn, ten miles from the place of the engagement, and about eleven we arrived within two miles of the ground where the rebels were drawn up in order of battle. Then our army formed in two lines, and three regiments for the corps de reserve, with the cavalry on our left flank, as it was most exposed, the right being secured by a morass. There was a hill on our left, which the rebels endeavoured to gain with all their best clans. Upon which the Duke made a movement to the left, and got as soon to the top of the hill as they; which seemed to disconcert them a good deal. Finding that they were outflanked in the right by our left, it occasioned them to change their disposition, and attempt to bring some troops from their second line, to fall upon our right flank, then removed from the morass. Which his Royal Highness perceiving, he ordered one regiment from the reserve to form on the right, and brought three squadrons of dragoons from the left to the right; which secured us entirely on that side. During this time they began to cannonade us with six pieces of cannon; but did

did little execution. In return, we played ten pieces upon them. Not being much accustomed to cannon-balls, they could not stand them so well as our troops; and therefore were obliged to attack: which they did with great vigour. The fire continued very smart for some time, and put us all in a good deal of pain, as they had broke in upon the two regiments on our left. But General Huske soon remedied this, by bringing up two regiments from the second line; who immediately repulsed them. At the same time Generals Hawley and Bland wheeled with the cavalry, charged the right flank of the rebels; and having put them in confusion, obliged them to retire. The rebels likewise attacked our right; but were repulsed directly, and charged in the retreat by Kingston's horse, which made great slaughter. In short, they all run away as fast as they could, and were pursued by the cavalry as far as Inverness."

"The rebels were above 9000 strong, chose their ground, and had likewise a rainy day to favour their broad-swords; but all would not do: and what is still more, our front-line only engaged; which shews what our people can do. They are now thoroughly convinced, that highlanders and broad swords signify little against us. Indeed they had the warmest fire given them that ever I saw for the time it lasted; and this is the third field-battle I have been in in less than a twelve-month."

By the first Gazette account of this action, the rebels were said to be about 7000 and by Lord Bury's account they are computed at upwards of 8000. On the other hand, according to one of the London papers, the King's army were under 7000 men. But the author of the *National Journal* observes, that, by the Gazette, the Duke had under his command, fifteen battalions of foot, two regiments of dragoons, and a regiment of light horse, besides the highlanders; that, by the establishment, a battalion of foot consists of 815 men, and a regiment of light horse or dragoons of 450, at least so many are paid for by the publick, which in whole amounts to 13,575 men, besides the highlanders; and that

it may be true, that his Royal Highness had no more than 7000 along with him; but this news-writer would be glad to know, where the rest were.)

“ The Duke has got the cheapest victory that perhaps has ever been known, tho’ by his exposing his own valuable person too much, it had often like to have cost us too dear. A battery of their cannon bore directly upon the place where he stood. It did little execution; for a particular providence guards him, and he trusts to it. Several shots nearly missed him, and one shot took off two men exactly before him.”—“ His Royal Highness behaved as if he had been inspired, constantly riding up and down giving his own orders,”—“ We took all their cannon, arms, ammunition, magazines of beef and oat meal, &c.

There were very extraordinary publick rejoicings on account of this victory: and in the capital cities of both parts of the kingdom they happened to be on one and the same day, the 24th; being that on which Lord Bury arrived at London, and the account brought by the King’s messenger was published at Edinburgh. The Duke’s birth-day, the 15th, when his Royal Highness entered the 27th year of his age, was likewise solemnized in a very distinguished manner; an anniversary not observed till this year. On both these occasions the testimonies of loyalty and joy were very general all over Britain and Ireland.

Lord Elcho was at the battle, and went off with the Pretenders son; but they afterwards separated. The latter was seen about three o’clock the morning after the battle, passing by Fort Augustus, in the way to Glengarry, with Sheridan and Sullivan, and no other attendants or servants. According to letters from Edinburgh of the 26th, Fort Augustus was burnt and blown up, and there was neither garrison nor provisions there.

The Macphersons were not at the battle, but were that day on their march to Inverness; and upon meeting the rebels running away from the action, they returned to their own country.



On Saturday the 19th, the Duke of Perth and Lord John Drummond were at Garriemore, within twelve miles of Fort Augustus, on their way to Lochaber, attended only by their servants. The latter ordered the horse of Fitzjames's regiment, who had followed the Pretender's son and him out of the battle, to return to Inverness, and surrender themselves prisoners: and the general and last order given by the rebel officers to their men, was, to shift for themselves. It was said, that hundreds of the rebels, who died in their wounds, and of hunger, were found in the hills at twelve, fourteen, or twenty miles distance from the field of battle; and that their misery was inexpressible. On the 23d, Glengyle, with about 120 men well armed, in their retreat from Sutherland, were seen near Finlarig, at the West end of Loch Tay, on their way home to Balquhader.

The detachment under the command of Brigadier Mordaunt, sent into the Frasers country on the 18th burnt Lord Lovat's house; and carried off horses, cows, sheep, meal, &c. which were brought in to Inverness, and distributed for the use of the army.

*An account of the battle of CULLODEN, with remarks on the dispositions of the armies.*

ON the 16th of April, between four and five in the morning, the King's army began their march from Nairn, formed into five lines, of three battalions each; headed by Major General Huske on the left, Lord Sempill on the right, and Brigadier Mordaunt in the centre: flanked by the horse under the Generals Hawley and Bland; who at the same time; covered the cannon on the right and left.

They marched in this order about eight miles; when a detachment of Kingston's horse, and of the highlanders, having advanced ahead of the army, discovered the van of the rebels moving towards them: on notice whereof, his Royal Highness commanded the army to form in order of battle; which was thus executed.

The

The three battalions of the second line 'defiled to the left of the respective battalions in the van; that is to say, Barrel's to the left of Monro's, Scots fusileers to the left of Price's, and Cholmondeley's to the left of the Royal: then marching up, formed the front-line of six battalions; between each of them two pieces of cannon. At the head of this line, and in the centre, the Earl of Albemarle commanded; on the right wing, three squadrons of horse, commanded by Major General Bland; on the left, three other squadrons, commanded by Lord Ancrum.

The second line consisted of five battalions, placed to face the openings of the front line, with three pieces of cannon placed between the first and second battalion on the right and left of the same line: in order that if the enemy either broke thro' the centre, or outflanked either the right or left of the front, they might conveniently play upon them.

To support both, and as a final reserve, was placed the remaining four battalions, winged on the right and left by Kingston's horse.

In this disposition the army continued some time; but the body of the rebels not advancing, it fell into marching order again; which continued until the front were within a mile of the enemy; then formed again into fighting-order as before.

The rebel-army formed their front in thirteen divisions, being so many clans under their respective chiefs, with four pieces of cannon placed before their centre, and the same number on each wing. The centre was headed by Lord John Drummond; the right wing, by Lord George Murray; and the left, by the Duke of Perth. To support the front-line occasionally, and covered by some stone walls, on the right was disposed Fitzjames's horse, and four companies of French piquets; on the left, one body of horse, made up with the *young Italian's* (Pretender's son's) guards, some hussars and the Perthshire squadron, and five companies of Lord John Drummond's foot. Open to the centre of the front-line was the *young Italian*, placed with his body-

body-guards. In his rear, a line of reserve, consisting of three columns; the first, on the left, commanded by Lord Kilmarnock; the centre-column, by Lord Lewis Gordon and Glenbucket; and the right, by Roy Sewart. Next, and directly in the rear of Glenbucket, were the regiments of Perth and Ogilvy stationed, as the final reserve.

In this order the rebels began firing on the King's army, about two o'clock, with their cannon; which being ill served did little execution. The firing was returned by the King's army, with such success, as put the rebels in great disorder. They disliked this way of fighting, and therefore made a push on the right of the King's army; where his Royal Highness waited to receive them in person. This they did in a kind of bravado, to draw the King's troops forward: but finding themselves deceived they turned their whole force to the left; and the weight of their fury fell chiefly on Barrel's and Monro's regiments; where they attempted to flank the King's front-line: but Wolfe's regiment advancing, entirely defeated their design. In the mean time the cannon was kept playing upon them with cartridge-shot. General Hawley, with some highlanders, had opened a passage thro' some stone walls to their right, for the horse which advanced on that side; while the horse on the King's right wheeled off upon their left, dispersed their body of reserve, and met in the centre of their front-line in their rear: when being repulsed in the front, and numbers cut off, they fell into an universal confusion. The horse on their backs made a dreadful carnage. The foot moved only in due order; but Kingston's horse, from the reserve, galloped up briskly, and falling in with the fugitives, did excellent execution. The rest the reader is to guess: having only left to observe, that on appearance of the two bodies of horse and dragoons advancing from the King's right and left, upon the rebels body of reserve, the *young Italian* never made the least motion to oppose them; but instantly wheeled off with his guards to the right, and rode full gallop thro' between Glenbucket's  
and



and Stuart's columns; and, as we were credibly informed, never looked back till he arrived at Aird.

The different dispositions of these two armies were in some measure owing to their respective situations. The King's army was to fight uncovered; and the rebels, covered, behind stone walls; but when their impatience to get out of the way of the King's cannon, pushed them on attacking, they necessarily either lost the benefit of their reserve, or the reserve must lose the benefit of the cover: which they not chusing to do, the impetuosity of the front carried them too far from their reserve; and and then having no guard in their rear, the horse on the King's right and left did easily their business.

On the other hand the disposition of the King's army was, perhaps, as just as the mind of man was capable of contriving. If one failed, a second supported: and if that a third. The enemy could not take two pieces of cannon, but three played directly upon them; nor break one regiment, but two were ready to supply the place. If the rebels were repulsed, they were routed; if any part of the King's army broke they rallied, and were supported. Had the King's army attacked, it might not have been so well; because then the rebels would have been close covered, and consequently the breaking of them more difficult.

Success is sometimes the effect of accident; but, in this case, chiefly of skill. If his Royal Highness did not form the whole himself, it is immaterial. He that knows when he is well advised, is a judge of what is right; and to pursue good advice, is one of the distinguishing characteristicks of a great General.

This account, and the order of march of the King's army, were taken from the *Daily Gazetteer*, and other London papers; as is likewise the order of battle, (See p. 207. 8. 9.) because it agrees with the account. In other plans there are some variations. That published at Edinburgh by *Robert Cooper* represents the armies thus, viz. The King's army was drawn up in two lines. The front-line, from left to right, consisted of Barrel's, Monro's (now Dejean's), Campbell's (Scots fusileers), Price's, Cholmondeley's

mondeley's, the Royal, and Pulteney's regiments, covered by Kingston's horse, and part of Cobham's dragoons; and the second line, of Wolf's, Ligonier's (now Conway's), Sempill's, Bligh's (now Sackville's), Fleming's, Howard's (Old Buffs), Blakeney's, and Battereau's regiments. The rest of Cobham's, and Kerr's dragoons, were a small space to the left of the lines, and a little farther advanced. Pultney's, Blakeney's, and Battereau's, were originally the corps de reserve, but at the beginning of the battle were formed in the above order. The rebel army was likewise drawn up in two lines. The front line, from right to left, consisted of the Atholmen, 700; Camerons, 600; Appin Stewarts, 300; Frasers, 400; Macintoshes, 600; Macfarquhers, 300; Macleods, 100; Maclean's, 100; Clanronald's men, 250; Keppochs, 300; Glengary's, 600; (the three last are Macdonalds); and at a little distance on the left, guards and hussars. The second line was broken into three. The division on the right, consisted, from right to left, of Lord Ogilvy's men; Lord John Drummond's, 400; Lord Kilmarnock's 800; and 35 of Fitzjames's: the centre division, of Glenbuckter's, 400; Colonel J. Roy Stewart's, 800; Duke of Perth's, 800; and Lord Lewis Gordon's, 400: and the division on the left, of 35 of Fitzjames's; and the Irish brigade, 400. The Pretender's son was placed behind the centre-division. The right of the rebel-army was outflanked by the front-line of the King's, and still more by the second line, which as there was a battalion more in it, according to this disposition, than in the first, extended farther South.—According to the plan published by *Ch. Corbet*, at London, the King's army was drawn up in two lines, and a reserve; with Kerr's and Cobham's dragoons on the left, and Kingston's horse on the right. The lines here differ (from former accounts), only in this, that Pultney's and Howard's regiments, instead of being in the reserve, are, the former on the right of the Royal in the front-line, and the latter on the right of Fleming's in the second line.—Others said, that the rebel-army was

(Go to p. 210.)

drawn

*A return of the officers and men in each battalion the day of the battle of Culloden.*

Regiments.	Fd off.	Capt's	Subs	Ser's	Drums	Rank and file.
Royal Scots	2	5	19	29	25	401
Howard	2	4	10	21	14	413
Barrel	2	5	13	18	10	325
Wolfe	1	7	14	17	11	324
Pulteney	2	6	14	23	19	410
Price	2	7	14	21	11	304
Bligh	2	5	13	22	13	412
Campbell	1	5	13	21	14	358
Sempill	3	5	15	20	14	420
Blakeney	2	4	14	24	12	300
Cholmondeley	2	7	15	21	15	399
Fleming	2	6	18	25	14	350
Déjean	2	6	15	23	19	426
Conway	3	5	16	21	16	325
Batterau	1	7	19	24	18	354
<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>222</b>	<b>330</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>5521</b>

*ORDER of march of the King's army.*

*M. Gen. Huske. Brigad. Mordaunt. Lord Sempill.*

Horse, G. Bland. Cannon.	Monro	Price	Royal	Horse, G. Hawley. Cannon.
	Barrel	Scots Fusileers	Cholmondeley	
	Ligon	Bligh	Howard	
	Wolf	Sempill	Fleming	
	Blakeney	Battereau	Pulteney	

Lord Loudon's and the Argyleshire men, Kerr's and Cobham's dragoons, and Kingston's horse, were reckoned 2400.

N, B. 40 of Kingston's horse, and some Argyleshire highlanders went in the van, and first discovered the rebels.



**Duke of PERTH.**

The REBEL ARMY  
Lord JOHN DRUMMOND.

Lord GEO. MURRAY.

Arhol	500
Lochiel	600
Appin	200
Cluny	300
Lovat	500
Macintosh	400
Farguhar	200
Mackintosh	300
Macleod	100
Maclean	100
Clanronald	250
Keppoch	300
Glenegary	600

Left Bank 460.

Ed John Drummond.

Guards, buffars,  
and Perthshire  
squadron. The young pretender.

Fitzjames's  
horse.

Right flank 400;  
Picquets, by Stapleton.

*First column 800.*

*Second column 800.*

Third column 800.

Those of the above who have only guns, and Kilmarnock's guards.

Id Lewis Gordon's and Glenbucker's to be ready to succour when needful.

Colonel Roy Stewart's and those of the above who have only guns.

The D. of Perth's reg. add 14d Ogilvie's, not to fire without positive order, and to keep close as a fresh corps de reserve 800.

In all 8360.

5. Park wall, broke down by the Campbells.

The K I N G ' s A R M Y.

Colonel Lord ANCRUM.

Lt-Gen. Earl of ALBEMARLE.

Maj. Gen. BLAND.

Barrel 000 Monro 000 Sc.Futl. 000 Price 000 Cholmy 000 Royal

Maj.-Gen. HUSKE.

Wolfe 000 Ligon, Sempill Bligh 000 Fleming

Brig. MORDAUNT.

Kingston's horse Blakeney Batterau Pulteney Howard Kingston's horse — In all 8811.

drawn up thus. The front-line, from right to left, was composed of Atholmen, Locheil's, Appin's, Roy Stewart's, and Lovat's, in the right wing, commanded by Lord George Murray; the Macintoshes, and Farquharson's, in the centre, commanded by Lord John Drummond; and the Maclean's, Macleods, Chisholms, Clanronald's men, Keppoch's, Glengary's, and Perth's, in the left wing, commanded by the Duke of Perth. Behind the centre of the front, there was a second line, consisting of the Irish piquets, the French Royal Scots, and the foot guards (Kilmarnock's), commanded by Brigadier Stapleton. This second line was supported by two columns, on the right and left. The column behind the right of the front consisted of Lord Lewis Gordon's men, commanded, under him, by Stoneywood and Abbochy. The column behind the left of the front, consisted of Perth's regiment, Bannerman of Ellick's men and Glenbucket's; but Perth's was drawn forward to the front upon its being outflanked by the King's front. The two columns were covered on their outflanks by the horse. The Pretender's son was between the front and the second line, guarded by a small party of Fitzjames's horse. Behind the second line was the reserve, composed of Lord Ogilvy's men, and commanded by him.

After the overthrow of the rebels on Culloden (or Drummossie) moor, on the 16th of April, the King's army incamped at Inverness.—Mr. Grant, with 600 of his followers, joined them on the 21st: and they were ordered to be quartered in the Macintoshes country. The Grants having taken Lord Balmerino, delivered him up to the Duke. He was the person who, after the battle of Dunblain in 1715, deserted to the rebels at Perth. He was then Captain Elphinston of Shannon's foot.

It was reported, that the rebels, on their retreat Northward, had threatened the Grants with military execution, unless they would rise, and join the Pretender's son; and thereupon the Gentlemen of that clan, their chief being from home, thought it expedient, to  
enter



enter into a kind of neutrality, and gave hostages to the rebels. Some of these were found at Inverness when the King's army arrived there. As this step was illegal, the Gentlemen who had been found with the rebels as hostages, or had been present at treating with them, were ordered up to Edinburgh; and four of them arrived there on the 29th of May.

Advices from Inverness, of the 23d of April, bore, that Lord Sutherland was then, with 8 or 900 of his people, in the head of the Frasers country, and near the Chisholms, of Strathglass; and that Lord Loudon, who was with 1300 men in the isle of Sky, was ordered to land in Clanronald's country, and to march up to Fort Augustus. Several deserters found among the rebels were hanged at Inverness.

Some transports, with Skelton's, Handasyd's, Mordaunt's, and Houghton's regiments of foot on board, which were embarked at London about the End of March, arrived in Leith road on the 20th of April; and, after staying some days, sailed for the Murray frith to join the army.

On the 22d, 310 French officers and soldiers were shipped at Inverness. They landed at Newcastle on the 2d of May, and set out thence for Carlisle on the 5th. Most of the Pretender's son's servants were come in to Inverness by the 23d of April; and as they were all French, and had not been with him before he came to France, the Duke gave them passports to go home.

The Lord President arrived at Inverness from the isle of Sky on the 25th of April. About this time, the Earl of Loudon, the Laird of Macleod, and Sir Alexander Macdonald, (who had raised his clan before the battle,) with 1700 men, and General Campbell with 800 men from Argyleshire, were marched towards Lochaber, in order to clear that country of the rebels, who were then dispersed all over it, and were beginning to rob and plunder; upwards of 600 Grants were sent into the Frasers country; the Monroes, Mackay's, and Sutherlands, were taking care of Rossshire, Cromarty, Caithness, and Sutherland; Lord Fortrose was raising the Mackenzies,

to secure the passages towards the isles; orders were given along the coast, to prevent any of the rebels making their escape by sea; Cobham's dragoons marched from Inverness on the 23d of April, and Lord Ancrum with Mark Kerr's on the 30th, to guard the Eastern coast; the militia in several places were raised to guard passes; those of Stirling were posted at the Frew; detachments of the Edinburgh regiment were sent out along the South-side of the Forth, to the West of Edinburgh, and on the 29th seized at Queensferry, and sent in to town, one Robert Murray writer in Edinburgh, a life guard man in the late rebel-army; a proclamation was issued by the Duke, for seizing all rebels and their arms: in short all methods were used for apprehending the rebels; and with such success, that in most parts of the kingdom the prisons were very soon crowded with them.

An account came to Edinburgh on the 30th from Dumbarton, that the Marquis of Tullibardine, and one Mitchell an Italian, who said he had been thirty years in the service of the pretender, had surrendered themselves to Mr. Buchanan of Drumakill, a Justice of the Peace, and were by him committed to the castle of Dumbarton. The Marquis was put on board the Eltham at Leith on the 13th of May. It was well for him that he had a strong guard to defend him against the people of Glasgow, who were greatly exasperated against him. He did not pass through Edinburgh, but was carried directly to Leith; where likewise a strong guard protected him from the resentment of the populace. Count Miromel, a French officer, and Engineer-General to the Pretender's army; Sir James Kinloch, his brother, and his brother-in law; Henry Ker of Gradyne, and others, were likewise taken, in different places, about the beginning of May; and Mr. William Murray of Taymount, brother to the Earl of Dunmore, surrendered himself to a Justice of the Peace in the shire of Mearns. About the end of April, Lord Pitligo, with many of the foot that followed him, were lurking about the coast of

of Buchan, in hopes of finding an opportunity to make their escape to France.

According to advices from Inverness, of the 30th of April, the Pretender's son, Lord John Drummond, and young Lochiel, who was wounded again in the last battle, were moving about in the Camerons country, and had not above twenty or thirty men with them; Lord Rae's people were sent back to their own country, and Lord Sutherland's were to return home that day; the greatest diligence was using to get a sufficient number of boats upon Loch-Nnefs; as soon as that was done, the Duke proposed to march with fifteen battalions, and Kingston's horse, to Fort Augustus, in two marches; and Lord Loudon, with the Argyleshire militia and the independent companies, were to march through the hills on the right and left, in pursuit of the rebels; Lieutenant Colonel Leighton, of Blakeney's foot, was ordered to take the command of Surling castle, and Major General Blakeney to go to Inverness, to take that of the troops which should be left there.

On the 29th of April, two French ships, of 34 and 32 guns, came to Arisaig; and on the 1st of May in the evening the Pretender's son came thither from Macdonald of Barisdale's house in Moidart, with such as remained with him; whereupon the ships began to unload arms and ammunition. Upon their arrival, 70 or 80 of the Macleans went from Mull to Arisaig. Beef, and that very poor, was the only support the Pretender's son and company had after coming to that country, excepting 30 bolls of meal from Kinlochmoidart's house, which had lain there since August last, and was all the meal that they had at Arisaig. The Greyhound man of war had come from Ireland to the Isle of Mull a few days before; and her Captain, Noel, having got account, on the 1st of May, that there were two large ships in Loch Nouay, sailed next morning, in company with the Baltimore. In the evening they were joined by the Terror, and at day break of the 3d they stood in for the loch. A litter after four o'clock the Greyhound crossed pretty close to the Commodore, gave him a broadside, and then



flood to the other. The two sloops followed the Greyhound's example, and the engagement continued till nine o'clock. By this time the mast and rigging of our ships were so much shattered, that the sloops could not keep under sail; which was the only way they could annoy the enemy, as they were inferior in strength. Therefore, after laying at anchor some time, and repairing their damage as well as they could, they left the French, and went to Aros bay, to refit. A letter from Fort William bears, that while one of the French ships was unloading the other cast anchor at the entry of the loch, with a spring in her cable, and defended the passage against the three British ships; and that then she went and unloaded, the other taking her place. In the engagement, one of the French ships had 48 men killed, and the other 8, among whom was one Major Hales of the piquets, besides several wounded. Our ships had only 4 men killed, and 10 wounded. During the action, the country people, and Barisdale's men, Macdonalds, carried off 240 casks of brandy, and about 800 l. in cash. The Macleans who came from Mull, went off on the night after the engagement, and carried with them one of the French longboats, loaded with brandy, and some cash. When the action was over, the Captains would land no more stores, finding that those which they had set on shore were plundered. Some letters bore, that besides stores, ammunition, &c. they landed 40,000 l.; that the Captains having upon account of the bad situation of the Pretender's son's affairs after the battle of Culloden, refused to deliver up the money, the rebels, by threats and violence, had forced it from them; and that Murray the Secretary had taken possession of it, and ordered it to be sent to Locharkaig.

The three British ships having in the best manner they could repaired the damage done their masts and rigging, and having been joined on the 4th by the Raven sloop, they all sailed from Aros on the 6th in the morning, and were in Loch Nouay about noon; but not finding the French ships there, they proceeded to Cannay, Barra, and Stornway. At Cannay they got intelligence

intelligence that the French ships had passed by that island on the 4th in the afternoon, steering towards Barra; but got no further notice of them. They were seen on the 5th off Dunvegan sound, steering to the N. W. On the 13th, the British ships were joined, near Cape Wriath, by the Scarborough and Glasgow men of war, of 20 guns each, and the Trail and Happy Jannet sloops. Having intelligence of a French sloop of eight guns being upon that coast, the Terror, Captain Duff, was ordered to search the lochs on the main from Loch Brim to Ardnamurchan: which he did accordingly; but got no other accounts of her, than that such a vessel was seen off the mouth of Loch Brim on the 9th. On the 17th the Terror joined the Furnace off Glenaly. Next day they went into Loch Nouay; and having sent a party on shore to search for arms and ammunition, they found and brought off 20 barrels of powder, and about 80 muskets. Captain Fergusson of the Furnace seized 800 stand of arms at Macdonald of Barisdale's house in the isle of Rasay.

A letter from Old Rock (a fictitious name) in Ardnamurchan, of May 10. bears, that the Pretender's son, the Duke of Perth, Lord John Drummond, Lord Elcho, Sheriden, O Sullivan, Mr. Buchanan, and many others whose names were not known, made their escape on Sunday the 4th on board the above two French men of war from Arisaig; that Secretary Murray remained to take care of the money and stores landed; that the clans talked of assembling at Strontian, and to keep themselves in a moving body, to harass and fatigue the King's troops, in hopes to obtain terms; that their chiefs assured the clans, that the two ships which arrived parted at sea with fifteen more, full of men, money, arms, &c; and that the Pretender's son promised to return soon with powerful succours; but that this gained no credit even amongst the rebels themselves, &c. On the other hand, according to advices from Inverness of the 23d the escape of the Pretender's son was not absolutely certain. He was some time before, in the North of the island Lewis; but failing of a vessel there to carry

carry him off, he went to Barra, at the South end of it; and it was afterwards reported, that he had missed the two French ships, and was returned to Moidart. And Major General Campbell writes, from Appin May 21. that advice was received from Mingary castle, of the 19th, that the Pretender's son went off in an open boat eight days before the French ships arrived, and landed in the isle of Lewis, with Colonel O Sullivan, Angus Macdonald, brother to Kinlochmoidart, and only two servants, and that they proposed to take a vessel from Lewis for France; that the Duke of Perth embarked on board one of the French ships, in so bad a state of health that his life was despaired of; and that there had been frequent meetings of the chiefs of the rebels, and a considerable number of their followers, near the braes of Lochaber, who were supposed to have assembled in order to the making a distribution of the 40,000*l.* landed out of the French ships.

About the beginning of May, James Stirling of Keir, Hugh his son, who was one of the Pretender's son's lifeguards and James Stirling of Craigharnet, were apprehended on board a Dutch ship employed to carry tobacco from the Clyde to Holland. They were committed to Dumbarton castle; whence the two last made their escape on the 19th.

Some of the rebels, with design to make their escape, got on board the ship of James Wemyss, of the North Ferry of Dundee, as he was riding off the lights of the Tay, and having put to sea landed at Bergen in Norway. But orders having been given by the King of Denmark, to inspect all British vessels that should come into his ports, and to confine all passengers that had not proper passports, the rebels were apprehended the 13th of May, and committed prisoners to the castle of Bergen, by order of the Governor, to the number of thirteen; among whom it was said were, David Graham of Duntroon, called Lord Dundee, Lord Ogilvy, Fletcher of Benschie, Hunter of Burnside, David Fotheringham the rebel Governor of Dundee, David Graham merchant in Dundee, his son Alexander, Henry Patullo, — Sandilands



dilands younger of Bourdeaux merchant. Thomas Blair merchant in Dundee, and Alexander Blair writer in Edinburgh.

According to advices from Inverness of May 8th Lord Loudon was to march from Fort Augustus, with 18 independent companies; the Earls of Cromerty and Kilmarnock, and Lord Balmerino, were to set out next day for London; Brigadier Mordaunt was to be detached with a body of troops for Perth, to replace the Hessians; and the Duke had ordered the transports for Shields, to revictual, in order to embark the Hessian troops for Flanders with all expedition. A very considerable quantity of provisions had been amassed at Inverness. About this time a considerable number of the rebels had been brought into Inverness by the Grants, and three ships were lying off that town with prisoners. The three Peers above mentioned, were sent on board the Exeter man of war, arrived at London on the 20th, and were committed prisoners to the tower for high treason. Lord Macloed was left at Inverness.

On the 19th Brigadier Mordaunt, with the Royal, Pultney's, and Sempill's battalions, and six pieces of cannon, arrived at Perth from Inverness, by the hill-road, and met with no disturbance in their march. They burnt some rebels houses and nonjurant's meeting-houses in the way. Several people of the Parish of Kingussie in Badenoch, who had been seduced and compelled by the rebels to join them, went to Blair of Athol, conducted by Mr. William Blair their Minister, John Macpherson of Benchar, and Donald Macpherson, of Cullinbre, and delivered up their arms to Brigadier Mordaunt, submitting themselves to the King's mercy. They were all permitted to return home peaceably. The Hessians had then moved from Perth, and were incamped at Burntisland. The Prince of Hesse, the Earl of Crawford, &c. came to Edinburgh on the 21st. His Serene Highness having dined with his Majesty's High Commissioner on the 22d, attended his Grace after dinner to the Assembly house, and sat on the throne at the Commissioner's right hand, his chair placed a little back-

ward. The Prince set out for London on the 24th, arrived there on the 1st of June, and waited on the King next day.

By the beginning of April, proclamations were issued by the Lord Lieutenant and council of Ireland, for seizing the persons commonly called the Duke of Perth, the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Lords Pittligo, Nairn, Ogilvy, George Murray, and Lewis Gordon, Cameron of Lochiel, Gordon of Glenbucklet, Secretary Murray, Glengary, or Maclachlan, offering 1000*l.* reward for each of them, and suitable rewards for any other person concerned in the rebellion, in case they shall land or attempt to land in Ireland; and also offering rewards for discovering and apprehending any person who should be concerned in insisting any of his Majesty's subjects of that kingdom for foreign service, or for that of the Pretender or his son.

By letters from Inverness, of May 22d Major General Bland was sent with three battalions to Fort Augustus; Fleming's battalion was to march next day to Aberdeen, and Major Mackenzie thro' the hills to Strathbogie, with Lord Loudon's battalion, his Lordship being himself employed at the head of the independant companies, and Lieutenant Colonel Campbell gone to serve under his father the Major-General, who was at the head of the Argyleshire-men.

Major-General Campbell wrote from Appin, May 21st that, on the 18th Alexander Macdonald of Glenco surrendered his arms, and those of his people who were at Glenco, to his Excellency, submitting himself to the King's mercy; that Appin's people who were at home had followed his example; and that both he and Glenco had given notice thereof to such of their men as were absent, ordering them to return to their own country.

On the 23d, the Duke set out from Inverness, and next day arrived at Fort Augustus, with eleven battalions of foot, and Kingstons horse. By letters from the last named place, dated the 27th, his Royal Highness proposed to send Houghton's battalion next Thursday half-

half-way to Fort William, to take post and secure the road; to go thither himself the same day, and return the next; and on Saturday that battalion was to go into Fort William, to relieve the remains of Guise's. Lord Loudon was with the Duke on the 26th, and informed him, that having marched with the highlanders under his command, and some regular troops commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Howard and Major Lockhart, against the Camerons and Macdonalds, who were assembled to the number of 300 for the security of Lochiel and Barisdale, they immediately dispersed on the appearance of Loudon's advanced parties, Lochiel ordering every one to shift for himself. Upon their dispersion, the Camerons sent a person to desire they might be admitted to bring in their arms; and submit themselves to the King's mercy. By the 17th Lord Loudon was gone into Badenoch for two or three days, to disarm the rebels there; and it was thought they would immediately submit; as the Macphersons had in great measure done to Brigadier Mordaunt, in his passage thro' their country to Perth. As the rebels were by this time in a manner dispersed, the Duke proposed not to stay in that country above a week longer, unless something extraordinary should happen, but to march South by the King's road to Crief.

The large fir-wood at Abernethy, belonging to the Laird of Grant, was set on fire in several places at once; by which that Gentleman was a loser in several thousand pounds. It was suspected to have been done by some of the rebels.

Mess. Lauder and Rattray of Edinburgh surgeons, whom the rebels had taken with them when they went into England, were set at liberty after being made prisoners at Inverness, and returned home. But a short while after their arrival, they were ordered to London, and set out on the 28th of May, with one of the King's messengers.

Lieutenant Colonel Campbell arrived at Fort William on the 24th, and next day joined his father the Major-General at Appin. They were to embark at Dunstaff-



nage on the 27th, in order to take possession of Stron-tian, where it was reported. that some few of the rebels continued in arms.

The transports from Inverness, which had carried North the four regiments before mentioned arrived in Leith-road on the 26th, as did those from Newcastle next day. These last having brought provisions and forage for the whole, preparations were made to sail with the Hessians with all expedition.

On the 29th of April, a congratulatory address to the King, and the thanks of the house to the Duke, on the victory at Colloden, the former moved for by the Duke of Malborough, and the latter by the Earl of Sandwich, were agreed to by the Lords. The house waited on his Majesty with their address, and ordered the Lord Chancellor to transmit their thanks to his Royal Highness, thus expressed, *viz.* "Resolved, That the thanks of this house be given to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, for the great and eminent services performed by him to his Majesty and his kingdoms against the rebels; and that his Royal Highness be assured of the just sense which this house has, in how distinguished a manner the late victory, was owing to his valour and conduct, and to his indefatigable zeal, activity, and labours, in the cause of his Royal father and of his country, and of our ardent wishes that his Royal Highness may have the glory entirely to complete the great work which he has so successfully begun and carried on." To which his Royal Highness sent the following answer, dated at Inverness May, 7. *viz.*

*My Lord Chancellor,*

I Could not possibly have received a more welcome and affecting proof of that distinguished zeal and loyalty which the house of Lords have constantly shewn to his Majesty's person and government, than by their favourable acceptance of my endeavours for the publick service; and I desire you will lay before the house my sincere acknowledgments for the regard they have shewn me on this occasion.

The

The resolution and firmness expressed by every officer and soldier in his Majesty's army under my command, deserve the highest commendation; but the guilt and terror of that insatuated multitude, who vainly hoped, by unprovoked tumultuary arms, and a contemptible foreign assistance, to shake an establishment founded in the hearts of his Majesty's subjects, afforded us so easy a victory, that I can only express my gratitude for the favorable impression with which the news of it was received by the house of Lords; whose good opinion and thanks I shall ever esteem as one of the most honourable testimonies and rewards that any action of mine could receive.

I have only to add my thanks to yourself, for the obliging manner in which you have executed the commands of the house of Lords, and for the good wishes with which you have accompanied them, of the reality of which I am firmly persuaded.

*My Lord Chancellor,*

*Your most affectionate friend,*

WILLIAM.

In like manner, the commons presented an address to the King on this occasion, and ordered the Speaker to transmit their thanks to the Duke. Both were resolved on upon the 28th of April. The former was moved for by Lord Coke, seconded by Richard Greynville, Esq; the latter by Sir Henry Liddell, seconded by Welbore Ellis, Esq; and is thus expressed, *viz.* "Resolved, *ne-mine contradicente*, That the thanks of this house be given to his Royal Highness the Duke, for the eminent and very important services performed by him to his Majesty and the Kingdom against the rebels, particularly in the late great defeat of them in Scotland, by his Majesty's forces under his Royal Highness's command."—To which his Royal Highness sent the following answer, dated likewise at Inverness. May 7. *viz.*

*Mr. Speaker,*

I Desire you would acquaint the house of Commons with the just sense I have of the regard they have been pleased to shew me upon this occasion; and to assure them, that nothing can be more agreeable to me, than their congratulation upon the success of his Majesty's arms, which is so authentick a testimonial of their steady zeal and loyalty for his Majesty's person and government.

Their esteem and approbation of my endeavours in the publick service, fill my wishes: and it will always be my study to deserve the continuance of their good opinion.

I cannot enough extol my own good fortune, in being placed by his Majesty at the head of an army, which expressed all along the best affections and the greatest ardour, and crowned all by the resolution shewn every officer and soldier in the day of action; to which, under God, our success was owing.

I return you my thanks for the cordiality and affection with which you have executed the commands of the house of Commons.

*Mr. Speaker.*

*Your most affectionate friend,*

WILLIAM.

On the 13th of May, the following message was presented to the commons by Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and read by Mr. Speaker, *viz.*

GEORGE R.

THE desire which his Majesty's faithful Commons have expressed, to shew some publick mark of their approbation of the services performed by his dearly beloved son the Duke of Cumberland, towards suppressing the rebellion, and preserving our happy constitution in church and state, has given his Majesty the greatest satisfaction. His Majesty is therefore persuaded, that upon this occasion he complies with the inclination of this house, in recommending to their consideration, the settling



ting an additional renew upon his said son and his issue-male, with such provisions as shall be judged proper.

Thereupon the house resolved to go into a committee on this message next day; which they did accordingly, and on the 15th agreed to the report, all *nemine contradicente*, viz. "That an additional renew of 25,000*l. per annum* be settled on his Royal Highness William Duke of Cumberland, and the heirs male of his body, for the good services done by his Royal Highness to his country, to be issuing and payable out of the duties and revenues composing the aggregate fund."—His Royal Highness had before only 15,000 *per annum*, payable out of the civil list.

On the 29th of April, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer acquainted the Commons, that several witnesses attended at the door, who were ready and willing to give an account of some persons who had appeared in arms on the part of the rebels during the present rebellion. Some of them were accordingly examined next day, and the rest on the 1st and 6th of May. On finishing the examination on the 6th, it was ordered, *nemine contradicente* that a bill be brought in to attain several persons particularly named. Which was accordingly presented on the 8th, and read a first time; read a second time on the 9th and committed for the 12th; that day gone through in the committee, reported, and ordered to be ingrossed; and on the 13th, read a third time, passed, and sent to the Lords.—Their Lordships read it a first time the same day; next day, read it a second time, and examined the witnesses formerly examined by the other house, (of whose names they were acquainted by the Commons upon a message sent them the same day for that purpose, viz. Charles Campbell, John Hickson, John Vore, William Hasty, John Gray, James Barkley, Hugh Douglass, James Logie, Angus Macinnon, George Hay, Patrick Goldie, and John Read); after finishing the examinations, committed it to a committee on the 15th, who went through, and reported it without amendments; and read a third time, and passed it on the 16th.

The rebel-prisoners taken at Carlisle were brought to the bar at the Old Baily on the 14th of April, and having answered to their names, were ordered to prepare for their trial against the next session. On the 17th of May, they were again brought to the bar; and council in behalf of the Attorney-General having moved, That they might be continued in custody till he should be prepared to prosecute them, it was granted, and they were remanded back into custody.

Besides the accounts of, and letters relating to the battle of Culloden, already inserted, we have seen others; some of which are as follows.

Alexander Taylor, a soldier in the Royal, in a letter to his wife, says, "The battle begun with cannonading, and continued for half an hour or more with great guns. But our gunners galling their lines, they betook them to their small arms, sword and pistol, and came running upon our front-line like troops of hungry wolves, and fought with intrepidity. But the thunder of our fire, and the continuation of it, began to slacken their fury. In about forty minutes they began to reel, and fought for some time in a hover: but the fire rather increasing, the arms being clean, and the men past consternation, being encouraged by the Duke and Generals example, they doubled their efforts, and the highlanders took plain flight."

A Gentleman in the King's army, in a letter from Inverness, said, "On our approach near the enemy, the army was formed in an instant; and his Royal Highness rode along the lines, speaking to every battalion, yea almost to every platoon. Had you seen him, as I did, you could never forget him. His presence and intrepid behaviour was enough to inspire the most pusillanimous with courage; and undoubtedly had a wonderful effect. *Depend*, (said he to the men as he rode by me), *depend, my lads, on your bayonets. Let them mingle with you; let them know the men they have to deal with.* At about a quarter after one, the enemy began to cannonade us; aiming, 'tis believed, their first shot at the Duke's person; whom they might easily distinguish  
by

by their glasses. But our cannon soon returned the compliment; and you might easily perceive it put them into some disorder. Their cannon, after some discharges without any great effect, ceased firing; and the front-line advanced on us with great swiftness, and great appearance of resolution; inclining, as they came on, towards our left; our cannon, loaded with grap-shot, playing on them the whole time with great execution. We received them with the full discharge of the fire of our front line, and kept such a brisk and continual fire on them, that it was impossible for men, whose dependence was chiefly on their swords, and who therefore fired very little, and that very badly, to sustain it. However, their right broke in on Barrel's regiment, notwithstanding their fire. But they received them very gallantly at the point of their bayonets; and the regiment on the left of the second line sustained Barrel's, the rebels, at last, gave way in the greatest hurry and confusion imaginable; and scarce was their flight begun before they were out of our sight, their rear line never offering to sustain them.—Every body allowed, who saw them dead in the field of battle, that men of a larger size, larger limbs, and better proportioned, could not be found.—They were 9000 men, whereof 4800 were highlanders; and I am confident we were not 7000.—A day or two after the battle, large detachments were sent out; who killed some, and brought in several prisoners; among whom was the Lady Macintosh, a woman of a masculine spirit, who raised the clans of that name, notwithstanding her husband was in Lord Loudon's army. She behaved quite undaunted, and with great unconcern. She said we had made great slaughter of her regiment, for that all her officers were killed except three.

And we had the following paragraph in the *National Journal*, a London news-paper begun about three months before the battle, viz. "By all accounts of the battle of Culloden, from those of both sides who seem to be impartial, it is allowed, that the *young Pretender* behaved with great courage and sedateness; that, just before the battle began, he rode along the line, and thro'



thro' the ranks of his army, encouraging the men both by his voice and action; that, in the engagement, he had his horse shot under him, and his groom killed while he was mounting another; that several of the people about him were killed; that he endeavoured to rally his broken troops; and, when he found that impossible, he put himself at the head of the Irish troops and some of the clans, who retired in such order, that the three squadrons of our horse, sent to pursue them, could make no impression. Then, with regard to the troops he had under his command, if we consider the circumstances they were in, we cannot reckon them such *poltroons* as they have been represented. They had been for several weeks without any pay, and without any provisions but a *scrimp allowance of oatmeal*; which was the reason of their being so few in number, not being much above 5000, and many of these *not compleatly armed*; they had, the night before the action, marched twelve miles, with an intent to surprize the Duke; and when they found, or thought themselves disappointed in that, they marched as far back again; and, being closely followed by the Duke's army, were obliged to engage in battle before they had either *sleep* or *refreshment*; which was enough to dispirit any troops in the world: yet, notwithstanding all this, their front-line, especially their right, attacked with a fury next to madness. But being flanked, in their advance to the attack, by a concealed battery of six pieces of cannon upon the Duke's left, and received with great firmness and intrepidity by our troops, who kept up their fire till the enemy came up to the *muzzles of their muskets*; and being opposed by *fresh* battalions from the rear, after they had broke thro' some of those that were in the front-line, they were thrown into confusion, and at last entirely defeated; with a slaughter among their *low-country foot*, and the *lookers-on*, which we cannot at present give a true account of; for, as to the *highlanders*, most of them retreated in such order as to prevent their suffering much in the pursuit."

Before

Before the end of May, the Duke had moved from Inverness to Fort Augustus. Kingston's horse, Barrel's Wolfe's, Skelton's, Sackville's, Campbel's (Scots fusiliers), Houghton's, Dejean's, and Conway's foot, marched with his Royal Highness, on the 23d. Howard's, Price's, and Cholmondely's foot, under the command of Major General Bland, had gone the same rout on the 16th; as had likewise Lord Loudon, at the head of eighteen independent companies, about that time, or a little before. Fleming's battalion was ordered for Aberdeen, and Loudon's for Strathbogie. Brigadier Mordaunt was at Perth, with the Royal, Pultney's, and Sempill's battalions. Handasyd's, Mordaunt's, Blakeney's, and Battereau's battalions, were left at Inverness, under the command of Major General Blakeney. Major General Campbell, and his son the Lieutenant Colonel, were at Appin on the 25th, preparing to embark at Dunstaffnage for Ströntian. The transports were arrived in Leith road on the 27th in order to take on board the Hessian troops, who were then incamped at Burntisland; and the Prince of Hesse was gone for London.

A person was taken up at Inverness as a spy, and hanged the day before the Duke left that place; where also twenty eight deserters had met with the like fate. The same day, the rebels of Glenmoriston, Urquhart, and Stratherrick, submitted. About fifty prisoners, from Brechin, Aberdeen, and Banffshire, were brought to Inverness on the 24th of May.

By other accounts we have the following particulars relating to Lord Loudon's expedition. On the 22d of May, 600 chosen men of General Bland's brigade, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Howard and Major Lockhart, and 2000 highlanders, under Lord Loudon and Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, marched from Fort Augustus. Notice was received, that Lochiel, Bannisdale, Secretary Murray, and a Scots French officer, with 300 or as some say 500 men, were about Lochiel's house; and it was designed to surprise them. Lord Loudon with his men arrived at Lochiel's at noon on the 23d. Before crossing the river at Lochay, they observed

ed a great smock at Lochiel, which was supposed to be the house set on fire by the rebels; but on coming to the place, it was found to be a mill, where they had a quantity of meal, which they had not time to carry off. A body of 350 Camerons were seen upon their march by the North-side of Locherkaig; and Lord Loudon expected that they would be intercepted by Lieutenant Colonel Howard, who was to march his men that way. But these roads being extremely bad, this party could not come up soon enough; and so the rebels got off by the tops of the mountains, except about eleven stragglers, who were taken. Howard's party carried these and a great number of cattle to Fort Augustus, after having burnt many of the rebels houses or huts.

The bodies of nine soldiers were found in a cistern in the old barracks at Fort Augustus. A letter from that place, of May 26th said, that they were all drowned by the rebels, after having been made prisoners; that the bodies were then floating; and that the rebel-prisoners brought in that day by Howard's party, were set down by the well, to view their own cruelty.—It was said in the above letter, that the Duke lay in a tent, but that a neat bower was built for him near the ruins of Fort Augustus; and that tho' the rebels had expended nineteen barrels of powder in blowing up that fort, yet there still remained some rooms of it, which were useful for kitchens, &c. to the Duke, and Lieutenant Generals Hawley and Albemarle.

When Lieutenant Colonel Howard and his party returned to Fort Augustus, Loudon's highlanders were left about Lochiel's house; and the corps under Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, consisting of the Argyleshire militia that had been with the army, joined Major General Campbell at Appin.—On the 27th, the Major General sailed with 1000 choice Argyleshire men, some said 2000, from Dunstaffnage, anchored that night in Tobermory bay in Mull, and next day arrived at Strontian, the heart of Lochiel's country. Here Mr. Cameron of Dungallon brought in his men (46 in number,) and arms to his Excellency, and with them surrendered



to the King's mercy; as did likewise the inhabitants of Morven and Ardnamurchan. At this time, Lochiel, his uncle Ludovick, Secretary Murray, and some others, were on the North-side of Lochiel. They had no great attendance; and it was expected they must soon quit their quarters.

At three o'clock in the morning of the 30th, the Duke, with 100 of Kingston's horse as his guard, set out on horseback from Fort Augustus, and before nine reached Fort William. A little after his arrival, all the officers were called upon, had the honour to kiss his Royal Highness's hand for the brave defence of the place during the late siege, and were ordered to acquaint the private men that he gave them thanks for their good behaviour on that occasion. He returned to Fort Augustus the same day.—Houghton's regiment came into Fort William on the 31st, to relieve the remains of Guise's.

Advices from Fort Augustus, of June 5. bore, that Lord George Sackville and Major Wilson were marched to the barrack of Bernera, with 500 foot, from whence they were to proceed Southward along the coast till they came over-again the head of Loch Arkek, where Lieutenant Colonel Cornwallis was with another body of 300; that from thence both corps were to proceed Southwards thro' the countries of the Macdonalds of Moidart and Knoidart; that Captain Scot, with the old garrison of Fort William, was to advance South to meet them; that Major-General Campbell, or the officer commanding the Argyleshire militia in his absence, was to scour the country about Mingary castle; that it was hoped this force would disperse the small remains of the rebels, as by confirmed accounts received from different parts there were not 50 of them together in any one place; and that the Duke had received authentick intelligence, that the Pretender's son embarked in a small boat, three or four days after the action of Culloden, for Long island, from whence he was dodging back wards and forwards in a small vessel, even some time after the French ships were off

the coast. It was said, that at the date all the rebel-prisoners were failed for Newcastle.

About this time a small French sloop appeared on the West coast. The Agnes and Mary of Irvine, John Barber, was taken by her on the 9th of June. Mr. Barber wrote, that the French vessel had only four carriage guns, and some blunderbushes and small arms for the sailors, who were but about twenty in number; that there were on board, two officers, and nine or ten other Gentlemen, three of them in very good dress; that the French Captain neither pillaged the Scots ship, nor demanded any ransom for her, but took Mr. Barber on board, to pilot them in to Lochbroom; that finding Mr. Barber was unacquainted on that coast, they put into Afloat, set him ashore, pressed another pilot, and immediately put to sea again, bound, as Mr. Barber conjectured, for Sky, in order, if possible, to find out the Pretender's son.

Mean while Major-General Campbell, and Lord Loudon were very active in scouring the highlands. From Strontian, two detachments were sent by the Major-General, to search for the rebels on the side of Loch Sheal, a fresh water lake that extends to within ten miles of Lochiel in Lochaber. Captain Duncan Campbell of Inveraw, of Lord John Murray's highland regiment, who commanded one of the detachments, discovered eight pieces of cannon sunk ten feet deep in the loch, and got them up, supposed to have been concealed by Lochiel, who had been in that place a few days before; and Captain John Noble, of the Scots fusileers, who commanded the other detachment, seized nineteen barrels of powder and thirty two chests of arms and ammunition, which were buried below ground. Several discoveries of the like kind were made. Two brothers of Kinlochmoidart submitted to the General. One of them, Eneas Macdonald, was formerly a banker at Paris, and came over with the Pretender's son. By the 27th of June, accounts came to Edinburgh, that his Excellency, having left the command to his son the Lieutenant-Colonel, had himself embarked with 200 men, and some marines, for the

the remote islands, in quest of the rebel-chiefs, and the Pretender's son, who were reported to have gone from the continent in an open boat for the Lewis, and neither vessel nor people returned.

Lord Loudon was likewise perpetually in motion. According to a letter from Island Stalker, of May 29th, his Lordship set out, the day before, from Lochiel's for Kinlochmoidart, with 2000 men, and expected to meet Major-General Campbell in a few days. By the 2d of June, he marched thro' Lochaber, and was to go thence to Arisaig and Moidart, to scour these parts. A short while after this, his Lordship was in Badenoch; where he seized seven or eight load of arms, and sent them to Inverness. A son of Glenbuckie's, who is blind, was taken in Strathdon, and carried to Inverness by his Lordship. From Ruthven in Badenoch, parties were sent to scour the hill of Minnigage, lying between that place and Blair in Athol, where some rebels were said to be lurking.

Parties were sent from Fort Augustus all round the highlands. Where-ever these came, they left nothing that belonged to the rebels. They burnt all the houses, and carried off the cattle; part of which the Duke ordered for the use of the army, and sent the rest South. A strict eye was kept on the shipping on the East coast; and several ships of war were cruising on the West coast. By these means the rebels being distressed exceedingly, several of them submitted. Besides those of Glenmoriston, Urquhart, and Stratherrick, formerly mentioned, some of the Macdonalds of Glengary are said to have come in to Inverness before the Duke, left that place; and the rest of them came in to his Royal Highness at Fort Augustus on the 11th of June. About 100 Frasers surrendered to General Blakney at Inverness on the 10th. A little while after, Barisdale submitted to the Duke, and was sent home with his followers. In short, the rebels are said to have come in in shoals; and that by the middle of June upwards of 8000 firelocks, 7000 broad Swords, including those taken at the battle, and a great number of tar-



gets, &c. had been got from the rebels, also 57 pieces of cannon, in all. It was said, that some of the rebels that surrendered before the Duke left Inverness, were put aboard the ships, and sent to England with the rest of the prisoners. Others were ordered home, to answer when called for.

Letters from the army said, that the Duke began with the rebels in a gentle, paternal way, with soft admonitions, and a promise of pardon and protection to all common people that would bring in their arms, and submit to mercy; that some complied, and were dismissed in peace with protections to their habitations; but that great numbers, especially the Camerons, Macdonalds, Grants, and Frasers, were perfidious; often promising to surrender at an appointed time, and as often breaking their promises; that others equivocated, pretending to surrender their arms, by bringing in old useless guns and swords, while they concealed their best arms at home; that his Royal Highness has therefore been obliged to lay the rod more heavy upon them, by carrying fire and sword through their country, and driving off their cattle, which were brought in great numbers, sometimes 2000 in a drove; and that the people were in a most deplorable way, and must have perished by sword or famine. In particular, Lochiel's house, at Achnacary, was burnt on the 28th of May; Kinlochmoidart's, (who had been a prisoner at Edinburgh since November), Keppoch's, Glengary's, Cluny's, and Glengyle's, are served in the same manner; vast numbers of the common people's houses or huts are likewise laid in ashes; all the cattle, sheep, goats, &c. are carried off; and several poor people, especially women and children, have been found dead in the hills, supposed to be starved.—Three men found in arms in Lochaber were hanged. Even the well-affected in the rebellious countries are likewise sufferers; as appears by the following extract of a letter from the North, dated June 21, viz. "As the most of this parish is burnt to ashes, and all the cattle belonging to the rebels carried off by his Majesty's forces, there

there is no such thing as money or penyworth to be got in this desolate place. I beg therefore you'll advise me what steps I shall take to recover my stipend. My family is now much increased, by the wives and infants of those in the rebellion in my parish crowding for a mouthful of bread to keep them from starving; which no good Christian can refuse notwithstanding the villany of their husbands and fathers to deprive us of our religion, liberty, and bread." And the calamity is likely to become still more general, by parties of soldiers seizing and publickly auctioning the effects of rebels, without a warrant from a civil court, till the criminals be legally convicted; and the great disappointment of their lawful creditors; and this even in countries that seem to be in a state of perfect tranquillity, the courts of justice sitting, and people full at liberty to put the laws in due execution; nay within a very few miles of the city of Edinburgh, during the session of the supreme court of the nation. Sometimes these things are done on Sundays, which gives offence to religious people.

The detachment under the command of Lord George Sackville returned to Fort Augustus on the 10th of June. They brought in eight prisoners, none of them of note, and upwards of 2400 black cattle, besides a great number of goats and sheep. As they reported, that several small parties of the rebels were still in arms, it was thought the pretender's son was yet in the country. Lord George Sackville's baggage was taken by a party of about a dozen, a very little way behind the detachment. They took all his horses, bedding, linen, provisions; and after plundering his servants, released them.

Amidst the fatigues and hardships the soldiers are obliged to suffer, the brave Duke makes all about him as jovial as the place will possibly admit of; as says a letter from Fort Augustus, of June 27. in which we have these particulars. "Last Wednesday the Duke gave two prizes to the soldiers to run heats for, on bare backed gallows taken from the rebels; when eight started for the first, and ten for the second prize.

These gallows are little larger than a good tup, and there was excellent sport. Yesterday his Royal Highness gave a fine holland smock to the soldiers wives, to be run for on these gallows, also bare backed, and riding with their limbs on each side the horse, like men. Eight started; and there were three of the finest heats ever seen. The prize was won, with great difficulty, by one of the Old Buffs Ladies. In the evening, General Hawley and Colonel Howard run a match for twenty guineas, on two of the above shalties; which General Hawley won by about four inches."

Several mass-houses in the North, particularly about Strathbogie, have been pulled down by the soldiers. Some non-jurant Episcopal meeting-houses have been likewise burnt and destroyed, and they are generally shut up all over the kingdom.

About the end of May, Glengyle, with a party of Macgregors, were in the hill between Crief and Dunkeld; and, it was said, attempted to levy the publick money. But they were obliged to make off, upon Brigadier Mordaunt's detaching 300 men from Perth in quest of them. On the 7th of June, a body of 700 men entered Balquhider, and proceeded to the bras of Monteith. But not finding Glengyle and his party, they burnt his house, and all the houses in Craigroylton possessed by the Macgregors, and carried the cattle to Crief. Those belonging to people not in the rebellion, were however given back.

The ship Gordon of Glasgow, belonging to a merchant in London, sailing for the West Indies with 81 men and boys and 26 women and servants on board, they mutinied on the 13th of May about 120 leagues West of the island Torrie, laid the master in irons, and were carrying the ship to the isle of Sky, with design to join the rebels; but, on the 29th, she was seized by Capt. Brett, of his Majesty's ship the Triton, off the Lewis. Ten men and three women escaped in the boat, on seeing the Triton coming up; the rest were made prisoners.

All



All the outparties of the Edinburgh regiment, stationed at Higgins nook, Queensferry, &c. for seizing straggling rebels, having been called in, the regiment was disbanded on the 30th of May.

On the 3d of June arrived at Edinburgh from Inverness, in their way to Carlisle, about 30 French officers, with ten of their servants or private men, upon parole, among whom was M. Boyer, the French Abassador to the Pretender's son.

Fourteen rebels colours taken at Culloden, were brought to Edinburgh on the 31st of May, and lodged in the castle. On Wednesday the 4th of June, at noon they were brought down to the cross, the Pretender's own standard carried by the hangman, and the rest by chimney sweepers, escorted by a detachment of Lee's regiment. The Sheriffs, attended by the heralds, pursuivants, trumpets, city-constables, &c. and escorted by the city-guard, walked out from the parliament close to the cross; where proclamation was made by the eldest herald, That the colours belonging to the rebels were ordered by the Duke to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. The Pretender's own standard was then put in a fire prepared for the purpose, and afterwards all the rest, one by one, a herald always proclaiming to whom each belonged, the trumpets sounding, and the populace, of which there was a great number assembled, huzzaing. A fifteenth standard was burnt at Edinburgh, with like solemnity, and another at Glasgow, on the 25th. We have not heard that the device of a crown and coffin, or the motto TANDEM TRIUMPHANS, was upon any of these; and it is doubted if ever there was any such standard, though it was currently so reported.

On the 10th of June, the transports, with the Hessian troops on board, under the command of the Earl of Crawford, sailed from Leith road, and in a few days arrived at Williamstadt. In the passage, they met the Syren man of war, with the Duke of Bedford on board, coming to Berwick; and the Earl of Crawford went on board to see his Grace.

Great

Great diligence was used to discover and seize rebels, and to prevent their escaping out of the kingdom. To help to discover them, the clergy were desired to give in lists of all those in their respective parishes that had, or that had not been in the rebellion. 'Tis said, that a few complied: but others of them had declined it; among whom, as we are informed, were the Ministers of Edinburgh, notwithstanding the arguments used by Sir Everard Fawcener, to persuade them to comply. And to prevent any rebels escaping out of the kingdom, rewards were offered for apprehending such of them as should land or attempt to land in Ireland, care was taken by the British ministers at foreign courts in alliance with his Majesty, to have any of them apprehended that should land in their territories; and the Justices of Peace of Kirkcudbright wrote to Patrick Lindeſay, Esq; Governor of the isle Man, advising him to be on his guard lest any of them should escape thither. This Gentleman published three orders, dated September 23. November 11. and May 14. (this last, in consequence of the intimation from Kirkcudbright, and the second, in pursuance of an order from the Duke of Athol, Lord of Man and the isles, dated at Edinburgh September 14th, requiring the militia to resist the rebels, if a body of them should attempt to land in the island by force, and that all strangers should be strictly examined.——Stirling of Craigbaroet, and Keir's son were retaken in this isle.

About the beginning of June, one Catanach, servant to Mr. Ogilvy of Kenny, in Angus, who had been in the rebellion with his master, was apprehended by some of St. George's dragoons, and in a short time after set at liberty. Being afterwards observed to go and come once or twice between the place of his former residence, and Lieutenant Colonel Arabin's quarters, he was suspected of having become an informer; and was barbarously murdered on the 11th. Francis Anderson and Andrew Fithie in Kenny, and Barbara Conts, servant to Mr. Ogilvy, suspected of being the murderers, were apprehended, brought to Edinburgh prison, and indicted.

Several

Several rebels, or suspected persons, were made prisoners; particularly Lord Lovat, Sir James Stewart of Burray, Maciel of Bara, Secretary Murray, Laurence Mercer son to Sir Laurence Mercer of Aldie, deceased, &c. The three first were never actually engaged in the rebellion. Lady Ogilvy, taken at Culloden, was brought to Edinburgh by a party of soldiers, and committed to the castle on the 15th of June.

The following particulars were related concerning Secretary Murray. Upon information, (from a herd of Kilbucco's), that Mr. Murray had dined at Kilbucco on Friday June 27th and had that night gone to the house of Mr. Hunter of Polmood, who married Mr. Murray's sister, John Smith, Serjeant in St George's dragoons, and seven private men, then under his command at Broughton, Mr. Murry's seat, was ordered thither with a guide, and at three o'clock on Saturday morning he seized Mr. Murray at Polmood. He was carried to Edinburgh by the same party, and committed close prisoner to the castle about twelve o'clock on Saturday night by order of the Lord Justice-Clerk. Mr. Murray, upon his examination, declared, that the Pretender's son, with Sullivan and O Neil, both Irish, and no other person in company, did, about four days after the battle of Culloden, go off from Moidart in an open boat, in order to get on board a ship; but that he himself being at that time indisposed, was not able to go with them; that he had been mostly with Lochiel and his uncle Major Kennedy, and his brother, in a starving way, lying on the side of hills all day, and travelling or wandering all the night, with scouts at a mile or a half a mile's distance, never daring to stay two nights in one place; that Lochiel was very ill wounded in the heel, and obliged to use a horse; that he himself, unable to bear fatigue and want any longer, crossed the hill, without a servant, and came by Monteith to the place where he was taken.

Lord Lovat was apprehended by a detachment of the garrison of Fort William, command by Captain Millar, which the Duke sent on board the Furnace and Terror sloops,



boats, to make descents on the coasts of Knoidart and Anisig. In one of those descents they got intelligence of his Lordship, and after three days search, had the good fortune to find him in a hollow tree. He was brought in to the camp at Fort Augustus on Sunday the 25th of June, on a horse-litter, and about 50 more prisoners; among whom was Hugh Fraser his Secretary, his cook, a young girl, and four Lancashire men. The following has been published as a letter from his Lordship to the Duke, dated at Fort William, June 12.

SIR,

**T**HIS letter is most humbly addressed to your Royal Highness by the very unfortunate Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat.

I durst not presume to solicit or petition your Royal Highness for any favour, if it was not well known to the best people in this country attached to the government, such as the Lord President, &c. and by those that frequented the court at that time, that I did more essential service to your Royal family, in suppressing the great rebellion in the year 1715, with the hazard of my life, and the loss of my only brother, than any of my rank in Scotland: for which I had three letters of thanks from my Royal master, by the hands of the Earl of Strathope, then Secretary of State; in which his Majesty strongly promised to give me such marks of his favour, as would oblige all the country to be faithful to him. Therefore the gracious King was as good as his word to me; for as soon as I arrived at court, and was introduced to the King by the late Duke of Argyll, I came by degrees to be as great a favourite as any Scotsman about the court: and I often carried your Royal Highness in my arms, in the parks of Kensington and Hampton-court, to hold you up to your Royal grandfather, that he might embrace you; for he was very fond of you and of the young Princesses. Now, Sir, all that I have to say in my present circumstance is, that your Royal Highness will be pleased to extend your goodness towards me, in a generous and compassionate manner, in my present deplorable situation;

situation; and if I have the honour to kiss your Royal Highness's hand, I will easily demonstrate to you, that I can do more service to the King and government, than the destroying a hundred such like old and very infirm men like me, past seventy, without the least use of my hands, legs, and knees, can be of advantage in any shape to the government.

Your Royal father, our present sovereign, was very kind to me in the Year, 1715. I presented, on my knees, to his Majesty, a petition in favour of the Laird of Macintosh, to obtain a protection for him; which he most graciously granted me; and he gave it to Charles Cathcart, then Groom of the Bed chamber, and ordered him to deliver it into my hands, that I might give it to the Laird of Macintosh. This was but one testimony of several marks of goodness his Majesty was pleased to bestow on me, while the King was at Hanover; and I hope I shall feel the same compassionate blood runs in your Royal Highness's veins.

Major-General Campbell told me, that he had the honour to acquaint your Royal Highness, that he was sending me to Fort William, and that he begged of your Royal Highness to order a litter to be made for me, to carry me towards Fort Augustus, as I am in such a condition that I am not able to stand, walk, or ride. I am, with the utmost submission and most profound respect.

S I R,

*Your Royal Highness's most obedient  
and most faithful humble servant*

LOVAT.

A letter was said to be writ by the Pretender's son to his father, a short while after the retreat of the rebels from Stirling, giving a detail of what had happened in Scotland about that time. An extract of this letter, inserted in the Utrecht Gazette, said, "That the arrival of the Hessian troops in Scotland, and the coming up of the reinforcements sent to the Duke of Cumberland, were

were the principal reasons which made him determine to give over the siege: That the difficulty his troops had to subsist, in the situation in which they were then, had also made him resolve to march Northward: That he had divided his troops in three columns; one of which marched under his command thro' Athol and Badenoch, towards the shire of Murray; whilst the other two directed their course thro' the shires of Perth, Angus, Mearns and Mar; with design that all the three should meet upon the rivers Spey and Findhorn, in order to possess themselves of the important post of Inverness: That he had taken all possible care to conceal the design of his march from the English troops, so that they were persuaded that his army made this motion with no other view but to disperse: That by moving Northwards he had an other advantage in view; which was, that of facilitating his being joined by the succours he expected from the Western coast of Scotland, as well as from the islands of Mull and Sky: That as Sir Alexander Macdonald, whose seat was in the last of these two islands, remained inflexible to all his solicitations, he had required nothing more of him, than that he would continue neutral: That he had offered the same expedient to other landholders who had refused to act in his favour: That he had received the like assurances from several of the clans upon the coast of Alist and Caithness; That the Lord Lovat and his son continued firmly attached to him, and that they neglected nothing that could contribute to the advancement of his cause: That his principal attention, since his being in Scotland, has been, to preserve union and concord among the chiefs of his army; and that he flattered himself with having succeeded therein, since no one of them had as yet forsaken him: That they had given him a new demonstration of their attachment, when his army left Perth, in signing an association, by which they engaged, in the strongest manner, never to abandon his interest: That, moreover, whatever might be the success of his enterprize, he was resolved to die sword-in-hand, rather than desist from what he had undertaken; That the succours of arms, money,

and



and ammunition sent to him from France and Spain, continued to arrive: That some of them had indeed had the misfortune to be taken by the English; but that loss, he hoped, would soon be repaired by the arrival of those he still expected."

An order was read in the church of Perth on Sunday the 29th of February, in several churches round, about the same time, and published a day or two before in the town by tuck of drum, in substance as follows, viz.  
*' By order of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland. Any person within this parish that shall conceal any rebels, or arms, ammunition, or any thing else belonging to the rebels, and shall not bring in the said rebel, stores, or goods, to Provost James Crie of Perth, shall, upon proof of disobedience of this order, be hanged.'*

Two accounts are published of the manner of apprehending the Earl of Cromarty. One, intitled, *Extract of a Letter from Dunrobin, the seat of the Earl of Sutherland*, is thus. "On Tuesday the 15th of April, the three companies of the Earl of Sutherland's militia, (in all about 185 private men), commanded by William Sutherland younger of Sibberscross, Esq; Mess. Robert Gray and Robert Macalaster, factors to the Earl, marched to the back of a hill North west of Dunrobin, and finding the rebels, to the number of 500, were on their march, sent an Ensign with 20 men to harrafs their rear. In the mean time the above named Gentlemen with the main body attacked them in the flank, and soon routed them, drove them to the little ferry, killed and drowned about 100; and took the Earl of Cromarty, Lord Macleod his son, Lieutenant-Colonel Kendal of the Spanish service, 9 more officers, and 160 private men prisoners. The rest were dispersed, and were dying of their wounds, in Sutherland and Ross counties. We had none killed, and not above 6 wounded. And had Lord Rea's men (who at the time of the action were two days march distant from them) come and joined them, as they had been frequently importuned so to do, Barisdale's regiment would have shared the same fate with

Lord Cromarty's.—The activity and bravery of William Sutherland of Sibberscross at this action cannot enough be commended.—Signed, WILLIAM SUTHERLAND. ROBERT MACALASTER.”

The other account, intituled, *A short account of the defeat of the rebels in Sutherland, &c.* and said to be a true copy of what Ensign Mackay attested, and delivered to Lord Sutherland, is as follows. “ Ensign John Mackay, of the Earl of Sutherland's militia, having kept a private intelligence with some person in his Lordship's house of Dunrobin, it happened, on the 15th of April, that the said Mr. Mackay, having got the proper signal from the top of the tower of that house, run with 26 men to the water of Golspy; and as the body of the rebels consisting of near 400, had marched some distance before Lord Cromarty, Mr. Mackay with 26 men got between the officers and the main body, and, by firing briskly on them, first drove back the officers to Dunrobin where they secured the gates, and by ringing the bell on the tower-head, sounding a trumpet, and displaying a white flag, gave the alarm to their men to return to their relief. In the mean time, Mr. Mackay had dispatched five men to call Lord Sutherland's militia, from the different corners where they were stationed, to come to his assistance; at the same time placed the remainder in three divisions, so as to divert the enemy till the rest should join him, and, by firing briskly on them in their return to Dunrobin, obliged some to take a boat for their safety: the rest perceiving the militia coming down from the hills, in such numbers, they despaired of success, and so made the best of their way to the little ferry, but Lord Sutherland's men pursued them so close, that, by water and firing, they killed about 50, and took 165 prisoners. On which they returned to Dunrobin. Mr. Mackay asked leave to speak to Lord Cromarty; which being granted, he told him plainly, that, if he did not surrender the house, the numbers that were without would blow it up, and run all hazards of their master's displeasure. On which Lord Cromarty asked half an hour to think of it. In the mean time, Mr. Mackay went

went down stairs, and told the guard that was in the house, it was needless to keep their arms any longer, as their officer had surrendered. On which they delivered them to Mr. Mackay; who secured them in the porter's lodge: then, having got possession of the key of the gate, called in Lord Sutherland's men, went up stairs, and told Lord Cromarty, that there was no more time for delaying; so disarmed and took them prisoners; and sent a letter to Captain Dove of the Hound man of war, who received them all prisoners, and brought them to Inverness where the camp was."

The following speech was said to have been made by the Duke to the army immediately before the battle of Culloden. *Gentlemen and fellow-soldiers*, I have but little time to address myself to you, but I think proper to acquaint you, that you are instantly to engage in defence of your King and country, your religion, your liberties and properties; and, through the justice of our cause, I make no doubt of leading you on to certain victory. Stand but firm, and your enemies will soon fly before you. But if their be any amongst you, who, through timidity, are diffident of their courage and behaviour, which I have not the least reason to suspect; or any others, who, through conscience or inclination, cannot be zealous or alert in performing their duty; it is my desire that all such would immediately retire: and I further declare, they shall have my free pardon for so doing for I would rather be at the head of one thousand brave and resolute men, than ten thousand, amongst whom there are some, who, by cowardice or misbehaviour, may dispirit or disorder the troops, and so bring dishonour or disgrace on any army under my command."

It was assured in a private letter, that there was not a man, horseman, foot, even the people employed in attending and driving the train horses, or any one whatever of the whole army, that did not behave in the time of action, at their respective stations, with the utmost bravery and intrepidity; and that when the action was over, the Duke rode through the army, and thanked



the officers and soldiers, in his Majesty's name, for their firm and vigorous behaviour; which was answered by a general shout, and *Flanders! Flanders! we'll follow your Royal Highness against any enemy.*

As a testimony of the King's satisfaction with the behaviour of the troops, an order was published, in these words. *'Head quarters Inverness, April 30. 1746.* The Duke having received a letter from his Majesty, wrote with his own hand, in which he orders his Royal Highness to acquaint the officers and soldiers of this army, That their courage and behaviour at the last battle had given thorough satisfaction, and that they may depend upon the continuance of his Royal favour, countenance, and protection, upon all occasions; the commanding officers are therefore directed to signify this his Majesty's pleasure to all the officers and men of their respective corps."

The troops continued their diligence in searching for rebels through the hills and isles, and in distressing their estates. In this service, the highlanders under the command of Major General Campbell and the Earl of Loudon, were much employed. The Major General, said to have sailed for the remotest isles, was returned from Bara to South-Uist before the middle of July, after having seoured the Western isles; and according to accounts received at Edinburgh towards the end of the month, all the principal Gentlemen of the clan Cameron, some of the Appin Stewarts, and all the Macdonalds, followers of Clanronald, Glengary, Keppoch, Kinlochmoidart and Glenco, were made prisoners by the indefatigable care of his Excellency, and the other officers, in their search through their respective countries. Hugh Fraser, Chief Secretary to Lord Lovat, was brought in prisoner to Fort Augustus on the 2d of July, by a party of Kingston's horse which had been sent in search of him. This Gentleman was formerly said to have been brought in with his Lord.

A letter from Fort Augustus, of June 29. bore, That upon an information that some of the rebel chiefs were in a wood near Garvamore, a party was sent in quest of them;

them; that the rebels had notice of their approach, but just in time to make off; that as the soldiers had a river to cross, they could not come up with them, but however fired on them, and wounded one man; that the soldiers burnt the rebels hut, which was a curiosity, being of wicker-work, and consisting of eleven different apartments, with a fire-place in each; and they found in it, a limon cut through, on a table, some bottles of different kinds of liquors, a fowling-piece, and a few other trifles.

Lord Loudon's men were kept moving pretty much in Strathspey, Badenoch, and Lochaber. An advertisement, signed by his Lordship, and dated at Ruthven, July 1. had been published in the Edinburgh newspapers, in these terms, *viz.* "Whereas great part of the King's arms belonging to the regiment commanded by the Right Honourable the Earl of Loudon, were taken by the rebels in Sutherland, and by them distributed to people of different parts of the country; who, notwithstanding the many orders published by his Royal Highness the Duke, still detain them in their possession: These are to advise such as do not deliver them in to the storehouse at Inverness, or to the commanding officer of any part of his Majesty's forces who happens to be in their neighbourhood, by the first day of August, that the possessors where-ever they are found whether civil or military, and of what rank soever, shall be prosecuted with the utmost rigour as the law in that case directs."

And, some time in July, an advertisement was published at the churches in the city and county of Aberdeen, in substance as follows. "*By the Earl of Ancrum Aid de Camp to his Majesty, and commanding the forces on the Eastern coast of North-Britain,* Whereas arms have been found in several houses, contrary to his Royal Highness the Duke's proclamation, this is therefore to give notice, That whatever arms of any kind are found, that the house, and all houses belonging to the proprietor or his tenants, shall be immediately burnt to ashes; and that as some arms have been found

- under ground, that if any shall be discovered for the future, the adjacent houses and fields shall be immediately laid waste and destroyed."

Great care was taken in guarding the coasts, and imbargoes had been sometimes laid on the shipping. Accounts were received by the Elizabeth of Glasgow, Orr, who arrived at Greenock on the 10th of July, and left Morlaix on the 1st, that while she was at the last named port, an Irish wherry arrived there, with about thirty rebel-officers on board, and an highland pilot; that the populace, on seeing them, cried, *Vive le Roy*, imagining the Pretender's son to have been among them; and that the passengers, as soon as they got on shore, sung, *And a begging we must go*. And Captain Lorimer, of the Glasgow Packet, who arrived at Newcastle in the end of July from Bergen in Norway, whence he sailed on the 21st, gave an account, that a few days before he came off, the thirteen rebels before mentioned, of whom Lady Ogilvy is one made their escape from the castle of Bergen, and went off in a small Danish vessel for Sweden; and that thereupon Alexander Wallace, Esq; the British Consul, entered a protest against the Governor. Captain Lorimer adds, that about the same time, or a little after, a French cutter from Lochbroom arrived at Bergen, with about thirty rebels on board; of whom some were in the highland dress, and others in that of the Pretender's son's life-guards; that the young Pretender and Lochiel were reported to be among them; that the British Consul applied to the Governor to have the vessel searched, and the passengers secured, but was refused; and that the Consul took a Protest on this likewise.——Captain Wemyss, who carried over the first thirteen, returned to Scotland before the middle of July. Several letters from the rebels to their friends were brought over in his vessel, but were intercepted; and the Captain and crew were committed to jail.

Nothing remarkable could now be expected from the army, as there was not a body of the rebels any where together. About the beginning of July, a party of Hamilton's



milton's dragoons fell upon a party of rebels that had come down to the braes of Angus for provisions, routed them, killed a few, and carried seven prisoners into Dundee, among whom was Patrick Lindsay, a rebel Captain. And on the 15th, seven rebels were surpris'd in a hut in the braes of Lenny, by the Perth volunteers, under the command of Captain James Campbell and Ensign Daniel Maceuen. The volunteers having surrounded the hut, were fired at from the door and two windows; which they returned. When the firing had continued briskly about fifteen minutes, the rebels, being all wounded except one, surrendered, and were carried in prisoners to Stirling, viz. Major Stewart, brother to Ardvorlich, Captain Malcom Magregor of Com-mour, Captain Donald Maclaren, Serjeant King, alias Macree, late of Lord John Muray's regiment, and three private men. The volunteers received no hurt. Lieutenant Fawlie, or Follie, who was broke at Montrose, and who served as a private man in the corps, was one of them, and very active. All the Rannoch men were said to have submitted to Captain Webster, at Castle Menzies.

The main body of the army was still at Fort Augustus; but parties were constantly in motion to scour the country. The utmost diligence was used for seizing the Pretender's son: concerning whom there had been numberless reports; of which the following is the exactest, and seems most probable. On the 28th of June, he sailed in a small boat from South-Uist to the isle of Sky, under the disguise of a young Lady's maid. Next day they landed at a Gentleman's house, having got a signal from a trusty friend on shore about half an hour before. Here the Lady dined, with several others; but, tho' pressed to it, would not stay all night. After the Lady and her pretended maid were gone hence, the Pretender's son resumed the habit of his sex, and was carried by John Macinnon, a boatman, first to Raza, and then back to Sky, and at last to the continent. On the 9th of July, Macinnon was taken in his boat on his return, by a party of General

neral Campbell's men; and carried directly to the place where he had landed the Pretender's son, having been ordered on pain of death to discover what he knew of him. Notice of this was sent to Fort Augustus, and thereupon 1500 men were immediately sent out to scour the coast. Macinnon said, that from eight o'clock of an evening till eight o'clock next morning, the Pretender's son walked twenty four miles with him; and that he carried a wallet on his back, containing two shirts, and a bottle of brandy, which he would not allow Macinnon to carry for him. On coming to the mainland, it was said the Pretender's son was joined by Barrisdale, notwithstanding his having submitted to the Duke and received his Royal Highness's protection. Barrisdale and old Glengary were said to be prisoners at Fort Augustus. Tho' all the passes were very strictly guarded, the Pretender's son got over the hill of Morar, in Lochaber, on the 16th of July; where he was received by Lochgary; with 80 men in arms, who conducted him into Badenoch. On notice of this, orders were given for preserving a strict imbargo on all the coast for seizing and securing every where all suspected persons. A letter from Lochaber dated July 20. said that, 2000 regular troops were then out, besides General Campbell's and Loudon's irregulats, in quest of the Pretender's son; and that there was besides, a chain of centries, or small guards, from Inverness to Fort Augustus, and from Fort William to Inverary, within a small distance of each other, and stronger guards at important passes; so that it was thought almost impossible he could escape. He was at that time reported to be wandering about in Morar, in an old highland habit, and in a bad state of health, being broke out to such a degree, that he was like a leper. And it was assured from Arisaig, of the 23d, that he still continued there, and was inclosed on all sides; and it was believed that Lochiel and some of the highland chiefs were likewise within the lines.

Captain Millar, who was in quest of the young Chevalier in South-Uist, wrote, that he escaped thence in  
 Lady

Lady Canlronald's cloaths. General Campbell, who was likewise in South-Uist, after ordering a chiftain's Lady, who had not only protected the young Chevalier, but contrived his escape, to be taken up, set out directly for Sky, having previously dispatched Captain Ferguson in a cutter. They both landed, much about a time, below the Gentleman's house in which the young Lady and her pretended maid had dined, went directly to it, and asked the Lady of the house about her two guests. But as she had not been let into the secret, she could give them no intelligence. His Excellency was at Applecross bay on the 23d of July, and his son, the Lieutenant-Colonel, at Lochanhuach.

A French cutter, of 6 guns and 30 men, hovered about thirty days on the coast, in hopes of carrying off the Pretender's son. Sullivan and O Neil went on board her at North Uist, and then she sailed for Sky; where O Neil went ashore, and was taken. It was thought this was the vessel that carried over the 30 rebels to Bergen.

In hunting the young Pretender's son, as above; besides O Neil, the old Laird of Macinnon, and three priests, one of them Lochiel's brother, were taken by Captain Macneil, of the Argyleshire militia; as was the Lieutenant Colonel of Clanronald's regiment, and his servants found in a cave, by a party of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell's men; and Captain Ronald Macdonald, Kinlochmoidart's brother, by Captain Noble. Alexander Macdonald of Kingburgh, Sir Alexander Macdonald's factor, was carried to Fort Augustus, and laid in irons, for having concealed the Pretender's son three days in his house, and aided his escape. This Gentleman was afterwards carried South by a party of Kingston's horse, and committed to the castle of Edinburgh on the 2d of August. A good deal of ammunition, arms, saddles, boots, &c. were found among the rocks, and some English horses roaming in the woods. All the cattle belonging to the outstanding rebels, were carried into the camp.

Commodore Smith was joined on the 22d of July, at Tobermory, by three ships of war from the Northland.  
the



The Glasgow man of war had taken a brigantine on the Western coast, with thirteen officers on board, who had since the beginning of June been endeavouring to carry off the Pretender's son. According to other accounts, there were twenty two officers in this vessel, all dressed in rich laced cloaths; of whom seventeen were found on board, and the other five made their escape. A fellow was apprehended retailing spirituous liquors in the camp at Fort Augustus, and hanged as a spy, supposed to have been sent by them to get intelligence of the young Chevalier.

On the 18th of July, the Duke set out from Fort Augustus on his return for London, was at Stirling on the 20th, lay in the Royal palace of Holyroodhouse at Edinburgh on the 21st, reached Newcastle on the 22d, York on the 23d, and arrived at St. James's on the 25th, about two o'clock afternoon. The most sincere testimonies of esteem and gratitude were every where shewn his Royal Highness; tho', at his own desire, publick rejoicings were often forbid. At York he was very highly complimented in two elegant speeches; one made by the Archbishop, at the head of the clergy; and the other by Mr. Recorder, when the Lord Mayor and Aldermen presented his Royal Highness with the freedom of the city, which was put up in a gold box. The magistrates of Glasgow, and of other cities, waited likewise upon him with their respective freedoms; and as the citizens of Edinburgh, being destitute of magistrates, could not do themselves this honour in all its formalities, the freedoms of the several trades were presented him in a gold box. This brave prince accepted of these compliments with a politeness and condescension becoming his high birth and character.—The Duke was attended by the Marquis of Granby, Lord Cathcart, Colonel Yorke, &c. and escorted by a detachment of Kingston's horse and a few hussars. Sir Everard Fawkener came also along from Fort Augustus; but this Gentleman, having some affairs of importance to settle at Edinburgh, did not set out thence for London till the 2d of August. Lieutenant

tenant-General Hawley arrived at Edinburgh on the 23d of July, and proceeded for London on the 25th.

When the Duke left the army, the Earl of Albemarle, Lieutenant-General, was appointed commander in chief in Scotland. The disposition of quarters for the troops, and the districts assigned the general officers, were as follows. Houghton's battalion, at Fort William, &c.; Loudon's, and independent companies, at Fort Augustus; Blakeney's and Batereaus, at Inverness; Mordaunt's, at Nairn; &c.; and Handasyd's, at Elgin, &c. these under the command of Major-General Blakeney, whose district was from Fort William, on the Chain, by Inverness, along the coast, to Spey mouth: Dejean's, at Cullen, &c.; and Fleming's at Aberdeen; these under Major-General Skelton, whose district was from Spey mouth along the coast to Dundee: the Royal, Skelton's, Sackville's, and the artillery, at Perth, &c. under Major-General Huske and Brigadier Mordaunt: and Barrel's, Price's, and Conway's, at Stirling; Campbell's (Scots fusileers), at Glasgow; and Lee's at Cannongate, &c. these under Major-General Bland and Brigadier Lord Sempill. Wolfe's, Pultney's and Sempill's were ordered for Flanders; Howard's (Old Buffs), for Carlisle; and Cholmondeley's, for Newcastle. Kingston's horse were likewise ordered South; and the five regiments of dragoons, *viz.* St. George's, Cobham's, Mark Kerr's, Naizon's, and Hamilton's, were at grass.

Accordingly, Wolfe's, Pultney's, and Sempill's battalions, ordered for Flanders, marched for Burntisland towards the end of July, and were embarked on board the transports; which had returned to Leith road about the beginning of the month, after having carried over the Hessians.

About the end of the month, a great many prisoners were ordered for Carlisle; among whom was Sir Archibald Primrose of Dunnipace, who was carried into Aberdeen two or three weeks before.—Lord Lovat arrived at Edinburgh on the 20th, guarded by a party of Mark Kerr's dragoons, and proceeded for London on the 22d. As his Lordship could not stand or walk, his guard had him to lift out of and into a coach.—The Earl

Earl of Kellie surrendered himself to the Lord Justice-Clerkat Edinburgh, on the 11th of July, and was committed to the castle; so that the attainer did not take place with the respect to his Lordship.

On the 7th of July, Secretary Murray was carried from Edinburgh for London; where he arrived on the 19th, and was committed to the tower. On the 24th, at night, the Lord Chancellor, and the two Secretaries of State, the Duke of Newcastle, and the Earl of Harrington, went to the tower, and staid till early next morning; during which time Mr. Murray was under examination, and it was expected great discoveries would be made. Accordingly, on the 26th, Barry a physician was taken into custody, and all his papers seized; near twenty messengers were sent to divers parts of the country; and Sir John Douglass of Kilhead, member for Dumfriesshire, was taken up at Edinburgh on the 28th at night, and carried off for London on the 31st, by a messenger and a guard.

Within a week or two of the end of the session, several complaints were presented to the Lords against officers of the army.—The first that we heard of, was in name of the factor upon the sequestered estate of Stranhope. It represented, That, on the 5th of July, five or six of St. George's dragoons came to the farm of Harrow, and drove off from thence, to Broughton, where they were quartered, the whole cattle, horses, &c. belonging to James Sinclair, tacksmen of that farm; that the dragoons, having returned to Harrow, took possession of the house, barns, corns upon hand, labouring-utensils, &c.; that for some days they had been disposing, at very low prices, of such of the aforesaid particulars as they could find merchants for; and that it was feared the growing corn, when ripe, would in like manner be intromitted with; all in prejudice of the creditors hypotheck. This petition was moved on the 16th; as the persons complained upon were not named, the Lords superseded advising it for some days. Another petition was therefore given in on the 25th, representing, That the factor having learned, that the dragoons were com-  
manded



manded by Quartermaster Cooke, did repair to Broughton, and asked Mr. Cooke, by what authority the dragoons had acted as above, and required him to order the goods to be restored; and that Mr. Cooke answered, That as it was well known James Sinclair was in the rebellion, the dragoons had seized his effects in consequence of the Duke's general orders, published in the news papers; that he had caused carry back the cattle, and had placed a guard over them; but had offered to Mrs. Sinclair to remove the guard provided she would give her security that the effects should be forth coming to any person having proper authority, when demanded; and that he could not be answerable to remove his guard in any other shape.

Another complaint was moved on the 24th, in name of Thomas Ogilvy of Coull, merchant in Dundee. It represents, that the complainer happening to be at Alloa in November last, looking after certain parcels of tobacco which had been seized by the rebels, he was apprehended by the King's troops, and had been ever since in confinement; that, in June last, Captain Charles Hamilton, of Cobham's dragoons, did, with the assistance of a party of said dragoons, turn out of the parks of Coull, the whole cattle belonging to John Ker and Alexander Guthrie, the complainer's tenants, put in dragoon-horses to graze in said parks, and, when these were sent South, roused the current season's grafs, for which he received 15*l* Sterling in ready money; that said Captain Hamilton thereafter took possession of the mansion-house of Coull, office-houses, yards, and lands adjacent, possessed by David Ogilvy, another of the complainer's tenants, roused his whole household-furniture, cattle, horses, and other moveables found about the house, and published an order, intimating, that in the beginning of August he was to rouse said David Ogilvy's whole growing corns; that Ker and Guthrie had remained peaceably at home during the whole time of the rebellion, and were never under the least suspicion of accession to it; that tho' David Ogilvy's conduct might have been suspicious, yet his property could not become forfeited till

he was convicted, nor in any event could the complain-  
er lose his hypothec; and that, if a timely check was  
not given to these proceedings, this Gentleman, or some  
other vested with the like authority, might probably take  
possession of the rest of the complainer's estate, turn out  
his tenants, and raise a sum of money by exposing the  
lands to roup.

A third complaint was moved on the 29th, in name  
of John Watson of Turin, near Forfar. It represented,  
That, on the 3d of July, the complainer was apprehend-  
ed, and committed prisoner, by Captain Charles Hamil-  
ton, of Cobham's dragoons, upon an information by Da-  
vid Scot taylor, and his wife, importing, that the com-  
plainer had threatened to turn Scot out of a small pos-  
session, if he would not inlist with the rebels; that, upon  
the complainers application to have this matter inquired  
into, a precognition was taken by the Justices of Peace  
of the bounds; by which it appeared, that Scot and his  
wife were of infamous characters, that the complainer  
had set their possession to another before there was the  
least surmise of the rebellion, and that he had all along  
lived as a peaceable and dutiful subject; that said Cap-  
tain Hamilton however, having previously caused inven-  
tary the whole effects of the complainer's house of Turin,  
and stocking of the farm, did, on the 24th of July, send  
a Serjeant and two dragoons to Turin, and caused inti-  
mate to the Lady, that she behoved to pay to Captain  
Hamilton 60 guineas, otherwise her husband's whole  
effects would be carried to Forfar, and roused, indulg-  
ing her till the 26 to make her election; and that, on  
said 26th, Captain Hamilton went in person to Turin,  
and renewed the demand of the 60 guineas, under the  
aforesaid certification; but was prevailed on to give a  
further indulgence till the 29th, upon the Lady's pro-  
mising then to grant bill for the sum, payable in four  
weeks.

A fourth complaint was likewise moved on the 29th,  
in name of the liferentrix of Woodhill, near Dundee.  
It represented, That on the 20th of May, James Greig,  
sole tenant in the liferentlands, was apprehended by a  
party

party of St. George's dragoons, and committed to Aberbrothock prison, on suspicion of having been concerned in the rebellion; that, on the 29th of May, Lieutenant Faustin Low, of St. George's dragoons, came with a party of dragoons to Woodhill, carried off the whole stocking of the farm, viz. horses, cattle, and sheep, to Westhaven, a little town in the neighbourhood, where they were all roused by the Lieutenant's order; who in like manner seized  $23\frac{1}{4}$  bolls oats, and five cart-loads unthreshed oats; that the complainer's factor having represented to the Lieutenant, that, by the law of this country, she had a preferable right upon the tenant's effects to the extent of the current year's rent, he answered, that *if she were the best Lady in the land he would take it all*; that the factor having been directed to take a protest, refused, alledging that one or two of his neighbours had been thrown into prison for protesting in the like cases; and that the Lieutenant had threatened likewise to take the growing crop, of which it was probable he had intimated a rous upon the ground.

A fifth complaint was moved on the 31st, in name of arresters of a rebel's effects. It represented, That the complainers did, upon a depending action, arrest some books belonging to John Murray of Broughton, in the hands of Mr. William Wallace Minister of Drummelzier, and executed a forthcoming; that Captain Whiteney Mackean, of St. George's dragoons, required Mr. Wallace to send to Broughton such books as he had in his possession; that Mr. Wallace having represented, that as the books were attached by a legal diligence, he could not warrantably send them, the Captain answered, that, if they were not sent voluntarily, he would order a party to fetch them, and could not answer for the consequences, and thereupon Mr. Wallace thought it prudent to send the books to Broughton; that the books having been afterwards sent in to Edinburgh, the complainers arrested them a second time, in the hands of John Mackmillan innkeeper, in whose house they were lodged; that after this arrestment the books were carried off by a party of dragoons on notice of which, the petitioners



protested against Captain Mackean, for damages; that on this the Captain said, that the books had been carried off without his order, and lodged in the house of one Dishington vintner in Kirkaldy, and promised that they should not be carried thence till the complainers claim was determined in a legal way; and that though the complainers hoped they might safely rely on Captain Mackean's promise, yet it was judged proper to have the authority of the Lords interposed, in order to prevent further difficulties.

The prayer of the several complaints was much to one and the same purpose; craving, that the persons complained upon might be ordained to be served with, and answer the complaints respectively; and that, in the mean time, interdicts should be pronounced, discharging any further procedure, other than in a legal method.

In obedience to the order of court, answers were given in for Quartermaster Nathaniel Cooke on the 28th, the third day after he had been served with a copy of the complaint, and he appeared in person next day, when the cause was advised. His answers were introduced thus: That whatever suspicions some people might at present incline to entertain of those of the respondent's employment, he had not learned the distinction betwixt a *British soldier* and a *British subject*; and as he knows there can be no authority for force or violence any where under the British government, he cannot help shewing the greatest anxiety to free himself from the suspicion of having had accession to any thing that may be deemed a violation of the laws. Mr. Cooke's account of the fact is to this purpose: That James Sinclair is a notorious Papist and rebel, and distinguished himself eminently in the Pretender's service; that this conduct drew upon him the resentment of his loyal neighbours, which they from time to time expressed to the soldiers quartered at Broughton, said, it was a scandal that such a man's family should be allowed to continue in the quiet possession of his effects; that on the 5th of July, when there was no officer in these quarters, a corporal and four or five private dragoons were so far moved by the instigations

ons of the country-people, as to go to Mr. Sinclair's farm, and drive off the stocking, to Broughton; that thereafter entering the house, only to search for arms, (as was alledged), and finding two red sashes, cut, and clotted with blood supposed to have been sent home by Mr. Sinclair as trophies of his particular bravery in the slaughter of two of his Majesty's officers at Preston or Falkirk, the soldiers thereupon could not abstain from committing some outrages; which however ended in no greater an affair than pilfering two old perwigs, two or three pair of stockings, a steel-hilted small sword, and other trifles, the whole not worth more than 12 or 14 s.; that at this time the respondent had no command of the party, having been at Dumfries, thirty or forty miles distant; that, on the 8th he went from Dumfries, by order from his superior officer, to Broughton, and took upon him the command of them; that next day, having challenged the corporal for what had been done, he pleaded the information and advice of the neighbours, and the general orders published by the Duke for seizing the effects of all rebels; that as the respondent was sensible the conduct of the dragoons had been irregular, he resolved to anticipate any application for having the goods restored, and desired a Gentleman, in the neighbourhood to write of his design to Mrs. Sinclair, who had gone to Edinburgh; that, on her return the respondent went to her house at Harrow on the 11th, five days before the first complaint was given in to the Lords, and restored all the horses and cattle; but as they had been once seized for the King's use, as he was diffident of his own powers to make an absolute restitution, and as the goods might afterwards be carried off irregularly, by soldiers, by the country-people, or by those concerned in Mr. Sinclair, to the prejudice of his Majesty's forfeiture, he therefore appointed a single dragoon to attend the farm, and watch over the effects, that nothing might be embezzled, or carried off without proper authority; that as to the wigs, stockings and other trifles, they could not be recovered so as to

be restored at the same time, but the respondent promised to Mrs. Sinclair, that he would endeavour to recover them, and either restore, or pay the value of them; that Mrs. Sinclair acknowledged them to be so trifling as not worth the being inquired after, and expressed her gratitude in very strong terms for what the respondent had done for her; that the respondent, however, upon further search, recovered those trifles, and ordered them to be delivered; and concludes, that in order to prevent any bad consequences to the respondent's character, and future trouble to the court by groundless complaints of the like nature, it was not doubted but expences would be awarded. The Lords found, That Quartermaster Cooke had not in any thing exceeded his duty, and therefore dismissed the complaint as groundless; found the complainer liable to him in 6l. Sterling of expences; and ordained the respondent to take off the guard, giving notice twenty four hours before, to the Sheriff or his deputies, that the goods and cattle might be properly taken care of.

Captain Hamilton was ordained to give in answers to Mr. Ogilvy's complaint, on the fifth day after he should be served with a copy of it. He was accordingly served between the hours of nine and ten in the forenoon of the 25th, and the following interlocutor was pronounced.

*“ Edinburgh, January 31. 1746. The Lords having again heard the within complaint, with the within execution of service, against Captain Charles Hamilton; and that he has not given in answers to the said complaint, as ordered by their last interlocutor; they find the said Captain Charles Hamilton guilty of a contempt of their authority and therefore grant warrant to Macers, Messengers, or other officers of the law, to seize, apprehend, and incarcerate the person of the said Captain Charles Hamilton, in the next sure prison to the place where he is apprehended, ay and until he find sufficient caution, at the light of the Sheriff of the shire in which he is apprehended, to make answer to the said complaint against the first of November next, and to satisfy and pay*



pay such damages as shall be found due to the complainer: and ordain the keepers of such prison to receive and detain him accordingly."

Answers to all the other complaints were ordained to be given in-against the first of November, and interdicts were pronounced, in the mean time prohibiting any further procedure, other than in due course of law.

Towards the end of July an imbargo was laid on in a great many ports in Scotland. For this purpose, letters were sent by the Lord Justice Clerk, dated *Edinburgh, July 27.* of the tenor following. "Sir, I send this by express to acquaint you, that by the intelligence I have from the North, the Pretender's son has left the West highlands, and fled towards the East coast in hopes no doubt, of making his escape. Now, whether he will attempt to get away upon the North east coast, or if he will endeavour to get into England, or what other course he will take, time alone can discover; but it is our duty, and that of all faithful subjects, to guard all avenues as far as is in our power; which makes me give you this early notice, and to desire you will be pleased to take proper measures in your neighbourhood. *I am &c.* And a letter was sent by the Commissioners of the Customs to the Collector and Comptroller at Portpatrick, dated, *Edinburgh, July 28.* in these terms. "Gentlemen, Intelligence being received that the Pretender's son has left the highlands, and is come towards the East coast, endeavouring to make his escape by shipping: by the special order of the Lord Justice Clerk, you are instantly to lay an imbargo on all ships and vessels throughout your precinct, and to put all the officers on their guard, with their utmost vigilance to watch all creeks, and places of embarkation, and to stop and examine all passengers and strangers, and to seize all suspected persons; and to acquaint us from time to time with all occurrences." Accordingly, on receipt of the order at Glasgow, guards were placed at all the avenues leading to the city; and at Air, Greenock, &c. constables made a strict search through every house. The

The imbargo was however taken off at Glasgow on the 15th of August, and at Aberdeen and elsewhere soon after.

It was reported at Edinburgh about the 20th of August, that the Pretender's son had got back again to the isles. He had been seen, as was said, by some parties; but by means of interjacent lakes and morasses, with which the country abounds, they were never able to come up with him. Old Glengary was brought prisoner to Edinburgh on the 22d of August, and committed to the castle, said to be charged with having favoured his escape from several parties sent in quest of him. And an officer at Fort Augustus, in a letter, dated July 26. says, "That Kingston's horse were to march next day for England. The regiments of foot made a chain all along the sea-coast, to prevent any of the rebels getting off, and to hinder the Pretender from getting to France, where he would give the universe to be. He has been chased this fortnight past from one island to another, sometimes dressed as a highlander, and sometimes as a woman. We hang or shoot every one that is known to conceal him, burn their houses, and take their cattle; of which we have got 8000 head within these few days past; so that if some of your Northumberland graziers were here they would make their fortune."

An affair happened at Stirling which made a little noise. It was related to have been as follows.—On the 29th of July, in the afternoon, William Pollock, wig-maker in Stirling, sent his journeyman, William Maiben, to Lieutenant Stoyt, of Howard's regiment, Old Buffs, with a wig which he desired to be made for him. The Lieutenant, being dissatisfied with the wig, expressed himself in a disdainful manner and bid him be gone with it. Maiben, in going down stairs, muttered some very provoking words, said to be to this purpose, That Lieutenant Stoyt was a troublesome scoundrel; and that if he had him out, he could kick him for his commission. The Gentleman was so enraged at this, that he went to Mr. Pollock's shop, taking a soldier with him, and struck

struck Maiben over the head, once and again, with a staff, till it broke. Other officers rushing into the shop at the same time, one of them, whose name was not known, beat Maiben on the face to the effusion of his blood. And Mr. Pollock endeavouring to rescue his servant, Lieutenant Stoyt and that other officer beat him on the breast with their fists. Immediately after, they dragged Maiben to the guard by the collar. Then Lieutenant Stoyt acquainted his Lieutenant-Colonel, George Howard, of the matter; who thereupon ordered Maiben to be stripped, tied to halberts in the market place, and whipped. On notice of what had passed, the magistrates, particularly Bailies William Maiben, John Gillespie, and Patrick Stevenson, went to Lieutenant Colonel Howard, and required him to deliver up Maiben, in order to be judged by them; declaring themselves willing to do justice, and give all manner of satisfaction in the matter. The Lieutenant Colonel answered to this purpose, That he had ordered Maiben to be flogged, and that it should be so; that he would answer for it; and that they should know that he commanded in Stirling; and he spoke otherwise indecently to the magistrates. Accordingly Maiben was tied to the halberts, and whipped by a drum of Howard's regiment; Lieutenant Neilson of Barrels regiment, who commanded the guard, overseeing the execution. In a little time, the Lieutenant-Colonel, by the advice, or at the intercession of the Major of the regiment, ordered Maiben to be loosed, and set at liberty; but not till his back was severely cut by the stripes.—And information of this affair was forthwith given into the court of justiciary, in the name of Mr. Pollock and Maiben, and of the magistrates of Stirling, charging Lieutenant Stoyt as guilty of hamefucken against Mr. Pollock and Maiben, and Lieutenant-Colonel Howard and Lieutenant Neilson, of a most barbarous and cruel abuse and maltreatment of Maiben's person, in a most ignominious manner, and of a manifest invasion of magistracy, and of the rights and liberties of the subject; and therefore craving a warrant for apprehending their persons, and imprisoning them till they



they should underly the law. — The Lords passed an interlocutor on the 1st of August; by which, before answer to the information and petition, their Lordships remitted to, and appointed the Sheriffs of the shire of Stirling, to make inquiry into, and take a procognition anent the facts complained of, and to report the same. — On the 30th of July, Howard's regiment arrived at Glasgow from Stirling, next day the officers were entertained in the publick hall by the magistrates, and complimented with the freedom of the city; and on the 1st of August they marched for Carlisle. The above affair at Stirling was however said to have given general disgust.

The 1st of August was solemnized at Aberdeen, by the troops lying there, in commemoration of the accession of the present Royal family to the throne, in the person of K. George I. It was said, that a message was sent by the commanding officers to the magistrates, desiring them to order the bells to be rung, and the windows to be illuminated. This anniversary has not been in use to be observed since the death of the late King, nor was it usual in Scotland to commemorate annually the accession of any monarch but the reigning one. The bells were however rung in Aberdeen; but no order was given for illuminations. In the evening the officers met in a tavern, before which the soldiers were drawn up, and drank the Royal healths, &c. under discharges of small arms. The soldiers having been dismissed about ten o'clock at night, they went through the city, before laying aside their arms, and broke a great many windows with stones, because they were not illuminated. The town-house, in particular, suffered on this occasion; mirrors and other goods to a considerable value were broke in a shop, women and children were much frightened, and it was said that some people were hurt.

Towards the middle of August, the Lord Sempill arrived at Aberdeen, and took upon him the command of the troops stationed in that country, in the room of the Earl of Ancrum; who came to Edinburgh about the 16th.

The Camp at Fort Augustus broke up on Wednesday the 13th, and the body of the army marched Southwards. Their rout was, to be at Dalwhinny on the 15th, at Dalnachardich on the 16th, then to divide; and the Earl of Albemarle, to march by Blair and Dunkeld, for Perth, with one division; and Major-General Huske with the other, by Tay bridge and Crieff, for Stirling. The garrisons at Blair and Castle Menzies marched along, or soon after, and those places were evacuated. Colonel Macdonald of Barisdale, (whose son was attainted), with 50 men, surrendered themselves to the Earl of Albemarle before he decamped. His Excellency and Major-General Huske arrived at Edinburgh on the 21st, after having settled the troops in quarters at Perth, Stirling, &c. as mentioned.

Major-General Campbell, and his son the Lieutenant-Colonel, with the Argyleshire militia, were returned to Inverary on the 17th. They brought 2 or 3000 stand of arms with them, which they seized in the rebels country. The militia were disbanded, most of whom were disposed to return to their labour; but the levies for some new independent companies were said to go on successfully. A letter from Inverary, dated August 26th. said, 'That the prisoners of any note taken by our militia, were sent, some to England, and some to Fort Augustus. A few of them that submitted, are still here, waiting their fate. These declare, that had others used their countrymen as General Campbell did, there would not be one rebel in arms in all the highlands.'

Lord Loudon was stationed at Fort Augustus, with his own regiment, and seventeen companies of militia, composed of Mackays, Macleods, Monroes, Sir Alexander Macdonald's men, &c. Small detachments from this corps were stationed in Strathspey, and at Ruthven, Dalwhinny, Dalnachardich, &c.

Three companys of Guise's regiment, and two of Johnson's, who garrisoned Fort William when besieged, crossed the Forth from Kinghorn to Leith on the 18th of August,

August, and marched for Berwick, the then station of Guise's regiment.

About this time advice was received at Edinburgh, that the master of Lovat had surrendered himself to Lord Loudon, and that he was sent to Inverness by the Earl of Albemarle's orders.

Some soldiers of Dejean's regiment, formerly Monro's, related, that, at Lochiel's house, they seized his gardener and cook, and desired them to inform where their master's best effects were concealed; that the former being inflexible, they set drums to the back of the latter with rods of discipline; that the cook having by this means made a discovery, Lochiel's best effects fell into the hands of the soldiers, but his plate escaped them; and that the gardener and cook were afterwards sent to England on board a ship with other prisoners.

On the 31st of August, as Captain George Monro of Culcairn, with about 4 or 500 men under his command, composed of Monroes, Rosses, Macleods, &c. were on a march near Locharkaig, in Lochiel's country in Locharber, a woman having come asking for Culcairn, he stepped aside to speak to her, and, in a few minutes after her departure, was shot dead from behind a bush. The woman, and one Cameron, the supposed murderer, were apprehended. This Gentleman's two brothers, Sir Robert and the Doctor, were killed at Falkirk.

In the night between the 30 and 31st, a party of armed men, supposed to be rebels, came to the house of Mr. Gairden of Troup, in Buchan; and having got access, they went to Mr. Gairden's bed-side, and required him to give them instantly 2000 l. Sterling. As the Gentleman would not, and probably could not comply with this unreasonable demand, they carried him off with them. After keeping him three days, they set him at liberty: but it was said they got upwards of 1300 l. that he had by him; and that they kept some valuable effects, or papers, as a security for the payment of the sums demanded.

Michael Vezazi, an Italian, long in the Pretender's service, who was committed prisoner to Dumbarton castle



castle with the Marquis of Tullibarden, and Æneas Macdonald banker at Paris, brother to Kinlochmoidart, were brought into Edinburgh on the 31st of August, and committed the former to the city jail, and the latter to the castle. A short while after, Mr. Macdonald set out for London, under the care of Major Bedford, of the train, and another officer, who watched him every night by turns. The Italian was enlarged on parole on the 15th of September.

About this time some depredations were committed in Buchan and other places. A man came to a minister's house there, when his family were at a market, and delivered him a letter, requiring 10*l.* to be given him. The Minister said he could not give it; but the man persisted in his demand. In a little time five or six more men came in, their faces disguised, and repeated the demand. The Minister offered them what money he had in his pocket, five or six shillings. But this not satisfying them, they went to his cabinet, took out six guineas, and 4*l.* in silver, and went off; threatening further mischief if any noise was made about the matter. A party was said to have gone likewise to the house of Mr. Bartlet of Afforsk, in the parish of Ghamry, and to have carried off what money they could find. Another Gentleman, in Buchan, had thirty cows carried off. It was also said, that a party of the rebels, a short while after their dispersion, killed on Adam, a Sheriff-officer, because he had given intelligence to the King's army when lying at Aberdeen.

By this time however, the peace of the country seemed to be pretty fully restored. Loudon's regiment, and two companies of Monro's and Guns, were stationed so properly, from Crieft to Fort Augustus and Inverness, that travellers met with no disturbance; and sometimes they were escorted from station to station, without fee.

The magistrates of Aberdeen presented the freedom of that city, in a gold box, to the Duke, by the hands of John Maule, Esq; their representative in parliament.

On the 19th of September Captain Crosby, who deserted from the British army in Flanders, and came to Scotland with the French troops, was hanged, and two other deserters shot, at Perth. The hangman of Perth absconded on this occasion; and one called from Stirling died on the road. Thereupon a prisoner brought out of jail officiated.

In the beginning of November, answers were given in for Captain Hamilton, to the complaint of Mr. Ogilvy of Coul. The Captain found caution, in terms of the interlocutor of July 31. and so was not incarcerated. It was said, *inter alia*, in these answers, That David Ogilvy, possessor of the houses and parks of Coul, had been from the beginning engaged in the rebel-army, and the Captain was not informed, whether he was proprietor or tenant, otherwise than by the complaint; that the Captain believes it may be true, that some of the dragoons might search the house of Coul for David Ogilvy the landlord, and possibly might carry off some part of his moveables, and graze some of their horses in the parks; and that when they came to be called upon in a proper manner, it was probable they would be able to justify their actions; but the Captain denied, that he or any by his order, either plundered the house of Coul, or grazed any horses in the parks; that when the dragoons horses which had for some time been grazed in the parks of Coul, were ordered South, the Captain judged it to be for the service of the government, to disable Ogilvy, in whose possession the parks still continued, to carry on his rebellious practices, and accordingly, after intimating a roup, let the parks to the highest bidder for 151; but that it was never suggested, that the parks were not the proper possession of David Ogilvy, or that Ker or Guthrie, or the complainer, had any interest in them; nor did any of them apply to the Captain for redress. After stating the facts it was observed, that a mistake in law runs thro' the whole complaint; inasmuch as the complainer supposes, that as in time of peace, so in the time of open rebellion, rebels must be tried and convicted by the civil courts before either  
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their persons or goods can be touched: but that the law stands directly otherwise; for that in an open rebellion, rebels are to be treated as enemies, and to be proceeded against by the military law, with which, in such cases the King is intrusted; and that the King and his officers have a legal power to destroy or seize the persons and effects of rebels without trial or conviction, in the same manner as if they were foreign enemies; with this remarkable difference, that rebels have no privileges allowed to enemies in a lawful war; as they are to be held as enemies, and not subjects, during the subsistence of the war, and after it is over are subjected to the pains and forfeitures inflicted by the laws of their country. Hence it is submitted, whether it would have been culpable in the Captain, to have seized (tho' indeed it was done without his order or privity) the moveables of David Ogilvy, who was and still continued in rebellion, and who was enabled to support himself in his rebellion by those movables; or if it was culpable in him, to dispossess the rebel of his parks; seeing by the laws of war *res hostium* belong to the captors, *i. e.* to the prince or state under whose authority they are taken; and cease to belong to the enemy, or those claiming under him. It was said, that as the facts complained of were not done in an instant or clandestinely, but in the course of several weeks, and openly, as against David Ogilvy only; and as neither the complainer, nor his pretended tenants Ker and Guthrie, gave the Captain any notice of their interest, the case must be judged as if the goods had really been David Ogilvy's; that therefore this seizure is not the subject of a summary complaint, but parties must claim their interest by the common course of law; for that a creditor of a rebel engaged in open rebellion has no title to complain of the seizure of his goods by those employed by the crown; That Ker and Guthrie are no parties to the complaint; and that a tenant illegally dispossessed, had no recourse against his landlord, but was left to insist against the party that injures him: that from the moment David Ogilvy took up arms, he was liable to be dispossessed by the King's troops;



and forfeited all his goods to the crown, not subjected to any debts of a date subsequent to his open rebellion; that nothing can excuse the complainer in allowing one in open rebellion to continue in possession, and support himself by the produce of his estate, except that the rebellion had put a stop to the course of law; which very reason demonstrates the necessity and lawfulness of the interposition of military force; and that the tack being thus at an end by the tenants open rebellion, the complainer's right to the rent, or of hypothec for security of it, was also at an end. Thus it was presumed the Captain's actings would be justified upon the common principles of law; but, at the same time, the late act, *for further indemnifying such persons as have acted in defence of his Majesty's person and government during the unnatural rebellion*, was pleaded upon. The paper concluded, with hoping that the Lords would dismiss the complaint, and decern the complainer to pay the Captain the full and real expences that he hath been put to by the suit. We shall give the interlocutor *verbatim*. *Edinburgh, December 18. 1746.* The Lords having heard the petition and complaint of Thomas Ogilvy of Coul, with the answers thereto for Captain Charles Hamilton, and heard parties procurators thereupon, find, the matters charged on the said Captain Hamilton in the said complaint, not appearing to have been advised, commanded or done in order to suppress the late unnatural rebellion, or for the preservation of the publick peace, or for the safety or service of the government, do not fall under the late act of parliament *for further indemnifying such persons, as have acted in defence of his Majesty's person and government during the unnatural rebellion*; and therefore find the said Captain Hamilton liable for the rent of the parks set to Ker and Guthrie for the current year, and for the value of the goods and cattle of David Ogilvy intronitted with by him, to the extent of the petitioners hypothec for the said David Ogilvy's rent for the current year; and remit to this week's ordinary on the bills, to hear parties on the extent of the said rent, goods and cattle;

cattle; with power to grant a proof to both parties, and to do in the premisses as he shall find just.'

Great diligence was used by several parties to trace the footsteps of the Pretender's son; and he must probably, have suffered great hardships, and been sometimes pretty near taken. Of this we have one instance in letters from Aberdeen; which bore, that, some time after, the young Pretender came to Lady, M—g—y's in great distress, and begged admission; that the Lady objecting the danger, a neighbouring Gentleman present, touched with his condition, offered to entertain him that night, which he accepted; that after refreshing himself in this Gentleman's house, he declared he had not touched bread for two days, nor lain in a bed for five nights, and desired to go to bed; that he slept thirteen hours before he awoke, the Gentleman and two more watching for fear of a surprize; that, two hours after he was gone, an officer with a party of Campbells came up, and presenting a pistol to the Gentleman's breast, threatened to shoot him if he did not discover the Pretender; and that thereupon he owned, that a Gentleman whom he did not know, had lodged with him the night before, but said he was gone, he knew not whether. It was talked about the beginning of September, that he had embarked, some weeks before, in the Murray frith, on board a French privateer, which hovered for him some time off the Orkeney's, and that another personated him for a while after he was gone; and a letter from Dunkirk, dated August 22d. N. S. bore, that the young Chevalier had landed, some days before, at Blankenburgh, in Captain Dumont's vessel of Dunkirk, who had gone in quest of him. But letters from Fort William, of September 21st. bore, that there was an account from the braes of Locharkaig, that on Thursday the 18th, at twelve o'clock, the Pretender's son embarked on board a French ship of war in the same loch in Moydart where he first landed, attended by Macpherson of Clunie, with others of his clan, Cameron of Lochiel, Dr. Cameron his brother, Ludovick Cameron of Torcastle, Allan Cameron, Mackdonald of Lochgary, and many others

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whose

whose names were not known; and that Barisdale was said to go on board before the Pretender's son got to the ships. About this time we were amused with the reports of a French fleet being on the coast, consisting of six ships of 60 guns each, and seven tenders: but a letter from Inverary of September 30. said, that the truth of the matter was as follows. 'On the 6th instant two French ships of force anchored at Lochnanua.' Next day four Gentlemen landed, sent Hugh Mackdonald in Keppoch in quest of some of the rebel chiefs, and then returned to their ships. This man having brought Barisdale and his son to them, they landed again on the 8th, got guides to carry them to Dr. Cameron, and were no more heard of for several days. Before the 17th, the Mackdonalds of Clanronald junior, Lochgary, Glenalladel, Dalela and his two brothers, the second Barisdale and his son, and some said Stewart of Ardsheill and four Gentlemen from Appin, were got on board. On the 17th, Macdonald of Keppoch, said to have lost one arm, and to be lame in one of his legs, went on board, with three others, thought to be low country Gentlemen. On the 16th came the young Pretender, in a bad state of health, dressed in a short coat of black freeze, trowse, a philabeg, and a gray plaid, accompanied by Lochiel, Dr. Cameron, Ludovick Cameron, Cluny Macpherson, the four Gentlemen who had landed on the 8th, and ten or twelve persons more. They sailed on the 20th, without landing any force, or committing any hostilities, and were seen that evening between the isles of Coll and Muick. The Gentlemen as well as commons, were seen to weep, tho' they boasted of being back soon with an invincible force. They gave out that two sixty gun ships were cruising off Uist, to convoy them to France.' According to another letter, of October 1. eye-witnesses related, that about 600 rebels went off in the French ships.



*An account of the young Pretender's escape after the battle of Culloden. As it was inserted in the London News-papers*

**T**HAT decisive engagement was fought on the 16th of April, 1746, in which the Pretender had his horse shot under him, by one of the troopers in the King's service, as he was endeavouring to rally his people. After his forces were entirely routed, he retired to the house of the factor of Lord Lovat, about ten miles from Inverness; where, meeting with that Lord he stayed supper. After supper was over, he set out for Fort Augustus, and pursued his journey next day to Invergarry; where he proposed to have dined; but finding no victuals, he set a boy to fishing, who caught two salmon, on which he made a dinner, and continued waiting there for some of his troops who had promised to rendezvous at that place; but being disappointed, he resolved to proceed to Locharkaig.

He arrived there on the 18th at two in the morning; where he went to sleep; which he had not done for five days and nights. He remained there till five o'clock in the afternoon, in hopes of obtaining some intelligence; but gaining none, he set out from thence on foot, and travelled to the glen of Morar; where he arrived on the 19th, at four in the morning. He set out about noon the same day for Arisaig; where he arrived about four in the afternoon. He remained there seven days, waiting for Captain O Neil; who joined him on the 27th, and informed him, that there was no hopes of drawing his troops together again in a body. Upon which he resolved to go to Stornoway, in order to hire a ship to go to France.

The person employed for this purpose, was one Donald Macleod, who had an interest there. On the 28th he went on board an eight-oar'd boat, in company with Sullivan and O Neil, ordering the people who belonged to the boat to make the best haste they could to Stornoway. The night proving very tempestuous, they all begged of him to go back; which he would not do; but

but, to keep up the spirits of the people he sung them a highland song. But the weather growing worse and worse, on the 29th, about seven in the morning, they were driven on shore, on a point of land called Rushness, in the island of Benbicula; where, when they got on shore, the Pretender helped to make a fire to warm the crew, who were almost starved to death with cold. On the 30th, at six in the evening, they set sail again for Stornway; but meeting with another storm, were obliged to put into the island of Scalpa, in the Harris; where they all went on shore to a farmer's house, passing for merchants that were shipwrecked in their voyage to the Orkneys; the Pretender and Sullivan going by the names of Sinclair; the latter passing for the father, and the former for the son.

They thought proper to send from thence to Donald Macleod at Stornway, with instructions to freight a ship for the Orkneys. On the 3d of May they received a message from him, that the ship was ready. On the 4th they set out on foot for that place; where they arrived on the 5th, about noon; and meeting with Donald Macleod, they found that he had got into company; where, growing drunk, he had told a friend of his for whom he had hired the ship; upon which there were 200 people in arms at Stornway, upon a report that the Pretender was landed with 500 men, and was coming to burn the town; so that they were obliged to lie all night upon the moor, with no other refreshment than biscuit and brandy.

On the 6th they resolved to go in the eight-oar'd boat to the Orkney's: but the crew refused to venture; so that they were obliged to steer South along the coast-side; where they met with two English ships; and this compelled them to put into a desert island; where they remained till the 10th, without any provision but some salt fish which they found upon the island. About ten in the morning of that day they embarked for the Harris; and at break of day on the 11th, they were chased by an English ship, but made their escape among the rocks. About four in the afternoon, they arrived at  
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the island of Benbicula; where they staid till the 14th and then set out for the mountain of Currada, in South Uist, where they staid till the militia of the isle of Sky, came to the island of Irasky, and then sailed for the island of Uia; where they remained three nights; till having intelligence that the militia were coming towards Benbicula, they immediately got into their boat, and sailed for Lochbusdale: but being met by some ships of war, they were obliged to return to Lochnagnart; where they remained all day, and at night sailed for Lochbusdale; where they arrived, and staid eight days on a rock, making a tent of the sail of the boat.

They found themselves there in a most dreadful situation; for having intelligence that Captain Scott had landed at Kilbryde, the company was obliged to separate; and the Pretender and O Neil went to the mountains; where they remained all night, and soon after were informed that General Campbell was at Bernera; so that now they had forces very near, on both sides of them, and were absolutely at a loss which way to move. In their road they met with a young Lady, one Miss Macdonald, to whom Captain O Neil proposed assisting the Pretender to make his escape; which she at first refused; but on his promising to put on womens cloaths, she consented, and desired them to go to the mountain of Currada, till she sent for them; where they accordingly staid two days; but hearing nothing from the young Lady, the Pretender concluded she would not keep her word, and therefore resolved to send Captain O Neil to General Campbell, to let him know he was willing to surrender to him. But about five in the evening, a message came from the young Lady desiring them to meet her at Rushness. Being afraid to pass by the ford, because of the militia, they luckily found a boat, which carried them to the other side of Uia; where they remained part of the day, afraid of being seen by the country-people. In the evening they set out for Rushness, and arrived there at twelve at night; but not finding the young Lady, and being alarmed by a boat-full of militia, they were obliged to retire two miles



miles back; where the Pretender remained on a moor, till O Neil went to the young Lady, and prevailed upon her to come to the place appointed at night-fall or next day: About an hour after, they had account of General Campbell's arrival at Benbicula, which obliged them to move to another part of the island; where, as the day broke they discovered four sail close on the shore, making directly up to the place where they were; so that there was nothing left for them to do, but to throw themselves among the heath. When the wherries were gone, they resolved to go to Clanronald's house. But when they were within a mile of it, they heard that General Campbell was there, which forced them to retreat again; and soon after O Neil was taken.

The young Pretender having at length, with the assistance of Captain O Neil, found Miss Macdonald in a cottage near the place appointed, it was there determined, that he should put on womens cloaths, and pass for her waiting-maid. This being done he took leave of Sullivan and O Neil with great regret; who departed to shift for themselves, leaving him and his new mistress in the cottage; where they continued some days, during which she cured him of the itch. Upon intelligence that General Campbell was gone further into the country, they removed to her cousin's; and spent the night in preparing for their departure to the Isle of Sky. Accordingly they set out the next morning, with only one man-servant, named Maclean, and two rowers. During their voyage they were pursued by a small vessel; but, a thick fog rising, they arrived safe at midnight in that island, and landed at the foot of a rock, where the Lady and maid waited, while her man Maclean went to see if Sir-Alexander Mackdonald was at home. Maclean found his way thither, but lost it returning back. His mistress and her maid, after in vain expecting him the whole night were obliged in the morning to leave the rock, and go in the boat up the creek to some distance, to avoid the militia which guarded the coast.

They went on shore again about ten o'clock, and, attended by the rowers, inquired the way to Sir-Alexander

ander's. When they had gone about two miles, they met Maclean: he told his Lady that Sir Alexander was with the Duke of Cumberland; but his Lady was at home, and would do them all the service she could. Whereupon they discharged their boat, and went directly to the house; where they remained two days; Betty being always in her Lady's chamber, except o'night, to prevent a discovery. But a party of the Macleods, having intelligence that some strangers were arrived at Sir Alexander's, and knowing his Lady was well affected to the Pretender, came thither, and demanding to see the new-comers, were introduced to Miss's chamber, where she sat with her new maid. The latter hearing the militia was at the door, had the presence of mind to get up and open it; which occasioned his being less taken notice of: and after they had narrowly searched the closets they withdrew.

The inquiry however alarmed the Lady, and the next day she sent her maid to a steward of Sir Alexander's, Macdonald of Kingsburgh ten miles distant: where he remained but one day; for on receiving intelligence that it was rumoured he was disguised in a woman's habit, Kingsburgh furnished him with a suit of his own cloaths, and he went in a boat to Macleod of Raza's. But having no prospect of escaping thence to France, he returned back on foot to the isle of Sky, being thirty miles, with no attendant but a ferryman, whom he would not suffer to carry his wallet, Raza assuring him that the elder Laird of Macinnon would render him all the service in his power.

When he arrived, not knowing the way to Macinnon's house, he chanced to inquire of a Gentleman whom he met on the top of the mountain. This Gentleman having seen him before, thought he recollected his face, and asked him if he was not the P—? This greatly surprised him; but seeing the Gentleman had only one person, a servant, with him, he answered *I am*; at the same time putting himself in a posture of defence. But this person immediately discovered himself to be his good friend Captain Macleod, and conducted him to  
Macinnon's

Macinnon's. The old man instantly knew him; but advised him immediately to go to Lochaber. And he accordingly set sail in a vessel which Macinnon procured for that purpose.

After remaining seven days in the glens of Morar, he received advice, that Macdonald of Lochgarry expected him in Lochaber, where he had 100 resolute highlanders in arms: Upon this he went over the hill of Morar, in a tattered highland habit, and was joyfully received by Lochgarry at the head of his men.

With this party he removed from place to place; till finding he could no longer remain in Lochaber, he removed to Badenoch. But being harrassed by the King's troops, and losing daily some of his men in skirmishing, they dispersed; and the Pretender, with Lochiel, Barisdale, and some othes, skulked about in Moidart. Here they received advice, that two French privateers were at anchor in Lochnanaugh in Moidart, in one of which, called the Happy, he embarked, with 23 Gentlemen, and 107 common men, and soon after arrived safe in France.

On the 9th of October, the Pretender's Son with about 30 of his followers, all very bare of cloaths, landed at Roscort, three leagues from Morlaix, from on board the Happy privateer, of 30 guns and 300 men, and the Prince of Conti privateer, of 22 guns and 240 men. They came round the land's end, and were chased one afternoon: but thick weather coming on, saved them; otherwise they owned they must have been taken. The young Pretender, without delay, repaired to Paris; where he was kindly received by the French King, who gave him the Titles of *Prince of Wales*, and his *Royal Highness*. His Majesty also ordered him 800,000 livres to buy a new equipage, which he very much wanted. It was said that an appointment was likewise made him of 600,000 livres *per annum*.

END of the HISTORY.



# APPENDIX

TO THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION,

*Containing an Account of the Trials of  
the Rebels, &c.*

A Precept was signed, on the 7th of June, by the Lord Chief Justices, Chief Baron, and several of the Judges in Westminster hall, to the Sheriff of Surrey, to summon a jury to appear at St. Margaret's Hill, Southwark, on the 23d of June, to try several rebels prisoners there. On the 23d, eight of the Judges (*viz* Sir William Lee, Sir John Willes, Sir Martin Wright, Sir Thomas Abney, Sir James Reynolds, Mr. Justice Burnet, Mr. Baron Clerk, and Mr. Baron Clive) went in procession from Serjeants inn in Chancery lane, to the town-hall of St. Margaret's Hill, and opened the special commission for the trial of the rebel-prisoners. My Lord Chief Justice-Lee gave the grand jury a learned and judicious charge; which being ended, they withdrew; and in an hour and a half returned, having found a true bill against William Earl of Kilmarnock, George Earl of Cromarty, and Arthur Lord Balmerino, for high treason, in levying war against his Majesty. There were present Thomas Page, Esq; High Sheriff of Surrey, Sir Dudley Rider, Attorney-General, Henry Masterman, Esq; Master of the Crown-office, John Chambre-Vernon, Esq; Clerk of the Arraignment, and a great number

of the Justices of the Peace named in the commission. The Gentlemen that composed the grand jury were, Sir William Richardson of Bermondsey, Sir Abraham Shard of Kennington, Sir Thomas Hankey of Clapham, Sir Peter Thomson of Bermondsey, Knights, and Josias Wordsworth of Adscumb, Samuel Atkinson of Croydon, Percival Lewis of Putney, John Copeland of Camberwell, Charles Hoskins of Croydon, Joseph Crefwick of Streatham, William Clarke of Southwark, Joseph Willoughby of Croydon, Thomas Bevois of Bermondsey, Elias Bird of Rotherhith, Thomas Tarrant of Southwark, Edward Stevens of Southwark, Henry Robinson of Wandsworth, John Heathfield of Croydon, Nathaniel Green of Southwark, Isaac Beles of Lambeth, John Smith of Lambeth, Hemmet Richardson of Bermondsey, and Samuel Nicholson of Croydon, Esqs.

The grand jury met again on the 25th and 26th, and found bills of indictment against the following rebel-officers taken at Carlisle, viz. John Hamilton, Governor of the castle of Carlisle; Francis Townly, Colonel of the Manchester regiment, and Governor of the city of Carlisle; John Saunderson, Alexander Blood, George Fletcher, Peter Moss, James Dawson, Thomas and Charles Deacons, Thomas Siddal, John Holker, John Berwick, Thomas Furnival, Thomas Chaddock, James Wilding, John Betts, John Hunter, William Britte, and Christopher Taylor, English; and Robert Forbes, James Ged, Charles Gordon, James Gordon (a Priest), Alexander and George Abernethies, John Burnet, John Cumrie, Alexander Macgrothers Senior and junior, James Nicolson, Walter Mitchel, George Ramsay, Alexander Leith, Donald Macdonald, Walter Ogilvy, and James Stratton, Scots; and against David Morgan of Derby, Esq; Barrister at Law; who were to be arraigned on the 3d of July, and their trials to begin on the 7th. The spelling of some of the names here, and in the list of officers taken at Carlisle, differs; as does likewise the corps to which some of the Scots officers were said in the news papers to belong, which therefore we have

have omitted, Samuel Maddock, of the Manchester regiment, became an evidence.

On the 14th, the Lords appointed a committee to search the records for precedents in relation to the trial of Peers for high treason, and ordered the three Chief Judges to attend; next day the committee and the Judges searched the records accordingly; on the 27th the report was received; and thereupon their Lordships appointed the three rebel Peers to be tried on Monday the 28th of July, Kilmarnock at nine o'clock, Cromarty at ten, and Balmerino at eleven, on bills of indictment for high treason found against them respectively; and ordered every Peer who had a right to sit and vote in parliament, to appear at and attend the said trials, and that said order should be affixed to the doors of the house, and of Westminster hall, and also published in the London Gazette, at least twenty days before the trials. Their Lordships the same day ordered an address, That the King would appoint a Lord High Steward, and that a place might be prepared in Westminster hall, for the said trials; which having been presented, the Lord Chamberlain acquainted the house on the 30th, by his Majesty's command, that directions would be given accordingly.

About this time several ships with rebel prisoners arrived from Scotland. About 200 were left at Tilbury fort, and about 600 came up the river on the 21st of June. The Marquis of Tullibardine, Lord Macleod, and Mr. Murray, were committed to the tower; two of the chiefs, to Newgate; the officers, to the new goal, Southwark; and the common men, to the Marshalsea. The following list of the officers was published, viz. the Marquis of Tullibardine, Lord Macleod, Sir James Kinloch; Colonels Francis Farquharson and Henry Ker; Majors James Stuart, Alexander MacLachlan, and James Rattary; Captains John Farquharson, Allan Cameron, John Campbell, Andrew Wood, Alexander Buchanan, Rod. Macculloch, Colin Mackenzie, Alex. and Charles Kinlochs, And. Spreul, and Alex. Cuming; Lieutenants Rod. Will: and Alex. Mackenzies, Geo. St. Clair, Hector Campbell,



and Tho. Watſon: Enſigns Duncan Gordon, Allan Stuart, Hector Mackenzie, James Stormont, James Moodie, — Hay, and James Lindſay; Sir John Wedderburn, and James Bradſhaw, Lifeguard-men; James Dods, Deputy Commiſſary; John Cairns, Clerk of the Stores; George Law, and James Grant, Chaplains; Alex. Grant of Glenmorgan, Adam Hay, Will. Gibbon, Charles Chalmers, Alex. Grant of Shoglie, James Grant of Lochleter. Charles Faulkener John Niſbet, Charles Allan, and the Hon. William Murray, volunteers; and Jai. Pinkerton, John Leitch, Alex. Low jun. James Dras, and Pat. Cuſhnie, on ſuſpicion of treaſonable practices.

Bills of indictment were found againſt thirty ſeven rebel priſoners, as before mentioned. But three of them had made their eſcape a day or two before, viz. *John Betts*, out of New priſon, Clerkenwell; and *Peter Moſs* and *John Holker*, out of Newgate. Early in the morning of the 26th of June, the remaining thirty four were carried in coaches from Newgate and New priſon to the court-houſe on St. Margaret's Hill; and having answered to their names, they were committed to the new goal, Southwark. Copies of their indictments was delivered them on the 28th of June; and on the third of July they were again carried to the court-houſe, and arraigned, before the Lords Chief Juſtices Lee and Willes, Mr. Juſtice Wright, and Meſſ. Barons Reynolds, Clarke and Clive. *Alexander Abernethy*, a ſurgeon, *James Ged*, a printer, both Captains in Perth's regiment, and *Thomas Farnival*, of Cheſhire a Manchester warehouſeman, a Lieutenant in the Manchester regiment, pleaded Guilty, and begged of the judges to recommend them to his Maſteſty's mercy. All the reſt pleaded Not Guilty. As their trials were appointed to begin on the 7th, they preſented petitions, praying for longer time; alleging that their moſt material witneſſes lived in Scotland and Lancaſhire; and made oath, that the contents of the petitions were matters of fact. The court adjourned to conſider of them; and next day the priſoners were brought to the bar, and acquainted, that the

the trials of the English prisoners was deferred till the 15th, and those of the Scots till the 25th.

Accordingly, on the 15th, the Lords Chief Justices Lee and Willes, Mess. Justices Wright, Dennison, Foster, and Abney, and Mess. Barons Reynolds and Clive, being met in court, *Francis Townly*, Colonel of the Manchester regiment, and Governor of the city of Carlisle, was brought to the bar, the jury sworn, and his indictment read, setting forth, That the prisoner, with others, intending to subvert the government, to put the King to death, to inthral these kingdoms into slavery, and to fix the Pretender on the throne, the prisoner did on the 10th of November last, appear, arrayed in a hostile manner, at the city of Carlisle, with 3000 persons and upward, in a rebellious manner, with guns, swords, and other weapons, drums beating, colours flying, pipes playing, and there levied a cruel war, took possession of the city and citadel of Carlisle aforesaid, made a cruel slaughter of the King's subjects, and did keep and defend the said city. The council for the King were, Mr. Attorney General, Sir John Strange, Mr. Solicitor General, Sir Richard Lloyd, and the Honourable Mr. Yorke; and for the prisoner, Mr. Serjeant Wynne, and Mr. Clayton.

The King's council having opened the charge, produced their witnesses.

Roger Macdonald (an Irishman) deposed, That he saw the prisoner at Derby, and also between Lancaster and Preston; that he wore a plaid sash, a brace of pistols and had a white cockade in his hat; that he marched at the head of the regiment, with drums beating, and colours flying, on one side of which was written LIBERTY AND PROPERTY, and on the other CHURCH AND COUNTRY; that he was looked upon by both officers and soldiers as Colonel of the Manchester regiment, gave command to all the officers under him, and that they obeyed him as principal officer; that he often rode at the head of the regiment on a bay horse, and being asked, What number at that time the rebel army might consist of? said he believed 5600 men, but not

all armed. This witness being asked by the prisoner's council, If he was not promised, or did not expect a pardon? deposed, That he had no certain promise of a pardon; that he was first examined at Inverness, by the Judge-Advocate of Scotland, but was not assured of a pardon; that however he expected to be pardoned, as he was only a servant; and that he was brought ashore very poor, and without any thing to subsist on.

Samuel Maddox (an apothecary's apprentice, in Manchester who joined the rebels, and was made an Ensign among them) confirmed Macdonald's evidence, and added, That a guard from the Manchester regiment was mounted every day, and centinels placed at the prisoners quarters; that at Derby, by the particular order and direction of the prisoner, the rebels beat up for volunteers for the Manchester regiment, commanded by the Honourable Colonel Francis Townly; that the prisoner, and some of his regiment, took a sack full of arms out of a house between Derby and Ashbourn, lodged them all night in his own room, and disposed of them afterwards among his men; that when they came to Carlisle, he was by the Pretender's son made commandant of that city; and had another commission given him to raise a regiment of horse; that so soon as the rebel-army were gone for Scotland, he took on him the command of the rebel-forces left in Carlisle, ordered the guns to be mounted, chevaux de frize to be fixed at the entrances of the city, and a house to be burnt from which the King's forces had fired, and annoyed the Pretender's army; that he ordered some of the rebels then in Carlisle, to sally out and bring in some sheep, and mounted the walls himself, with a pistol in his hand, to give notice if the King's forces were near where the men were to go; that the prisoner paid the men of his own company himself, as all the Captains of companies did theirs, and the witness heard him complain, that he was fourscore pounds out of pocket in paying his men; that, before the capitulation of Carlisle, the witness heard the prisoner have some words with, and that he seemed to be in a great passion at Colonel Hamilton,



milton, for surrendering the place, and not making a defence to the last; saying, *It was better to die by the sword, than to fall into the hands of those damn'd Hanoverians.* This witness being asked by the prisoner's council, Whether the Duke did not promise them, or whether they did not expect mercy, upon their surrender of Carlisle; or if they all expected to be hanged? and, Whether he himself had any promise of, or expected any reward or pardon after having given his evidence against the prisoner at the bar, or the others in custody? deposed, That all the terms the Duke said they were to expect, were, That they should not be put to the sword, but left to the King's pleasure; that they were all put prisoners into the church; that they did not expect to be hanged, for they were in expectation of being at liberty soon again: and, That he could not say he ever had any promise of a reward; that no body ever told him he should be pardoned, but his friends advised him to be an evidence; and that if he could have a free pardon he should be very thankful for it.

Austin Coleman (an Irishman) deposed to the prisoner's acting as a chief officer at Carlisle, being commandant of the city, supplying the soldiers with arms, and commanding the Manchester regiment; but either spoke nonsense, or jested, when asked at what time he saw the prisoner at Carlisle.

Captain Carey, of the foot-guards, deposed, That having orders from the Duke, to take care of the Governor of Carlisle, and to examine all the rebel prisoners papers, he applied to the prisoner, who said he had delivered his commission before to Major Adams; that the prisoner had some guineas in his pockets, and his watch; which he did not take from him; for the Duke's orders were, not to take any money out of the pockets of any of the officers, only to seize all publick money that they had collected; for that what money they had in their pockets, might, be of service to them in their confinement; that the capitulation was signed by the Duke of Richmond; thereby the rebels in Carlisle were

were to be at the King's pleasure: and being shewed a paper, he said it was the capitulation; which was read in court.

Captain Nevê, of the third regiment of foot-guards, deposed, That he went by order of the Duke to visit and examine the rebel officers in Carlisle; and that the prisoner was one of them, and went by the name of Colonel Townly, and commandant of Carlisle.

Captain Vere, an officer sent by the Duke of Newcastle upon the publick service, deposed in these words; " I saw the prisoner on the 20th of November at Carlisle, for I was taken prisoner a little before by the rebel army. He was called Colonel Townly, Colonel of the Manchester regiment, and commandant of the town. On the 26th of December he appeared with a white cockade. I went up to Colonel Hamilton's room; where we talked of a capitulation; and Mr. Hamilton was willing to agree to it. We then wrote a letter to his Royal Highness the Duke; and the messenger who carried it was made a prisoner: and Mr. Hamilton desired me to go to Captain Abernethy, and the Scots officers; and they agreed to what was done, and the next day they hung out the white flag;" and added, That the prisoner appeared as commanding officer, that the witness saw his commission in the guard-room,

Mr. Davidson, a grocer of Carlisle, deposed, That the prisoner acted as commandant of Carlisle, and Colonel of the Manchester regiment; and that the witness being present when he ordered a house to be set on fire at Carlisle, and asking him the reason, the prisoner replied, That several of the Elector of Hanover's men had fired from it, and annoyed his men.

Here the King's council rested the matter.

The prisoner's council pleaded in his defence, That Mr. Townly was a Gentleman of a good family, and that his education was suitable to his birth, by family-misfortunes he was obliged to retire to France in 1728; that being taken notice of at the French court as a man of spirit, and recommended to the King, he got a commission in the army; that he served at the siege of Philipburgh

Philipburgh under the Duke of Berwick who lost his life, before the walls of that place; that in this and several other sieges and engagements, his behaviour gained him the esteem of all the officers in the army, being always such as became a man of honour; executing the orders of his superiors with the greatest intrepidity, and exposing himself on every occasion in such a manner as if life was of no signification, when honour and the service of his master stood in competition with it; that as he received the French King's pay, he thought it his duty to serve him faithfully; that he continued in the French service till a few years ago, that he returned into England, and lived there privately, till about the time of the breaking out of the rebellion; that the French King, having meditated an Invasion of these kingdoms, and judging that he might be of service in promoting it, sent him a Colonel's commission, to enable him to raise forces, and to assist his ally the Pretender, in his expedition to Scotland; and as it thus appeared, that the prisoner had been sixteen years in the service of France, and had the French King's commission all that time, that therefore, tho' he should unhappily be found acting in this unnatural rebellion, he had a right to the cartel settled for exchange of prisoners.

These facts, and also, that Colonel Townly had been constantly supplied from France after he had been taken at Carlisle, were offered to be proved by Captain Carpentier; and John Haywood and Thomas Dickinson were brought to invalidate Maddox's evidence, by shewing the badness of his character.

Carpentier having been accordingly sworn, the King's council asked, What he was to prove? The council on the other side answered, That the prisoner had a commission from the French King, and that he was at the siege of Philipburgh. But they were told by the court, That this would make against them; for that no man who is by leige a subject of the King, can justify taking up of arms, and acting in the service of a prince that is actually in war against in his Majesty. On which Carpentier was set aside without being examined.

Hayward



Hayward deposed, That Maddox bore a very bad character, and that he would not believe him upon his oath. Dickinson confirmed this, and added, That he heard Maddox was a very bad apprentice, and had wronged his master. But being asked by the King's council, Dickinson deposed, That he saw the prisoner at Manchester, and that he was Colonel of the Manchester regiment in the rebel-army.

A point of law was likewise pleaded for the prisoner, as if the day when the treason was done had not been mentioned in the indictment; which, after being replied to by Mr. Solicitor General, was over-ruled by the court.

The Lord Chief Justice Lee then summed up the evidence, and gave a charge to the jury; who thereupon consulted together in court; but not agreeing, withdrew, returned in in ten minutes, and brought in a verdict Guilty.

On the 16th, the Lord Chief Justice Lee, Mr. Justice Wright, and Mr. Baron Reynolds, being met in court, Mr. Attorney General, Sir John Strange, and Sir Richard Lloyd, appearing as council for the King, and Mr. Serjeant Wynne and Mr. Parrot for the prisoners; *George Fletcher*, a Captain, was brought to the bar. After the jury were sworn, the indictment (the same in substance with Colonel Townly's) was read, and the King's council opened the charge. Then the King's evidence were examined, *viz.* Ormsby Maccormack, an Irish weaver, and Thomas Craig, both of the Manchester regiment; Thomas Bradbury, servant to a printer at Manchester; and Samuel Maddox, Austin Coleman, and Captain Nevet, before mentioned. Bradbury deposed, That he was present at Manchester when a drum was beating up for volunteers for the Manchester regiment; and that when the Serjeant had ended his speech, the prisoner pulled off his hat, and cried, *God bless King James and Prince Charles*. Captain Nevet deposed, That he by the Duke's order, took the names, ranks and qualities of the rebel officers at Carlisle; that the prisoner said he was a Captain, and that next day, upon calling

calling over their names, he answered to *Captain Fletcher*. The rest deposed to the prisoner's acting as a Captain in the Manchester regiment, particularly at Carlisle. Maddox added, That the prisoner, hearing, at Blackerfey, in their march from Manchester for Derby, that Maddox had thoughts of returning home, told him it would be scandalous to make such a shameful retreat, and pulling out a handful of gold, said he should never want while that lasted. Maccormack said the prisoner was called *Captain Dawson*; and being bid look at him again, said tho' he might mistake the name, he was sure as to the person.

The prisoner's defence. Anne Action, who lived twenty seven years in his family, deposed, That he and his mother lived together: that the rebels came to Manchester on the 29th of November, and a great many of them were quartered at their house; that the mother retired; that the rebels came back to Manchester on the 8th of December; that Captain Robertson, who commanded the soldiers at their house before, came a second time, and asked for the prisoner, that half a dozen soldiers at the door, swore they would have him, dragged him away with tears in his eyes, and she never saw him after; that she never knew him do a bad thing; that he always behaved dutifully to K. George and the Royal family; and that she never saw the least willingness in him to join the pretender. But being cross-examined, it was said she prevaricated.—Two other witnesses were examined in his defence; but could say nothing.—The jury, without going out of the court, found the prisoner Guilty.

Fletcher's trial over, *Thomas Chadwick*, or *Chaddock*, a Lieutenant, and *William Bretab*, or *Bretter*, (called Bradshaw, an Ensign, were brought to the bar.

Maddox deposed, That Chadwick acted as a Lieutenant, and Bretab as an Ensign, in the Manchester regiment; that Chadwick entertained the witness and several rebel officers in Lancaster Church, by playing on the organ, *The King shall enjoy his own again*; that he saw both the prisoners in the room with the young pretender

pretender at Carlisle, where all the officers were drawn up to take leave of him before he left that place; and that he saw them both mount guard in the town-hall, a day or two after.—Being asked by the prisoner's council, How long he had known Bretah? Whether he had a quarrel with him at Carlisle? and, If the witness did not promise to be revenged on him? he deposed, That he had known Bretah upwards of two years; that he was an attorney's clerk; that he persuaded the witness to join the rebels before he had any inclination to do it; that provisions being scarce at Carlisle, Bretah would have some sausages from the witness, which he not caring to part with, they thereupon fought; but that the witness never promised to do him ill, and would not swear away any man's life for a sausage. Being further asked, 'Don't you swear in expectation of saving your life?' Mr. Attorney-General said, 'It was not a proper question; that has been answered already.' Sir John Strange then asked the witness, 'Do you expect to save yourself by swearing?' and was answered, 'No; I will swear nothing but truth; and what I have sworn, was all matter of fact.'

Graig deposed to Chadwick's acting as a Lieutenant in the rebel army; and Coleman and Maccormack deposed to both the prisoners appearing as officers in it.

John Collins, of thirteen years of age, after being examined as to his knowledge of the nature of an oath, deposed, That he was a servant to Captain Lowther, and taken prisoner at Carlisle; that on his knees he begged his life of the Duke, which his Royal Highness generously granted that he knew both the prisoners perfectly well; and that Chadwick acted at Carlisle as a Lieutenant, and Bretah as an Ensign.

Captain Nevet deposed to his having taken the prisoners names at Carlisle, and to Chadwick's answering as a Lieutenant, and Bretah as an Ensign.

The prisoners making no defence, the jury, without going out of court, found both guilty.

On the 17th, *Christopher Taylor*, called Charles Gaylor, an Ensign, was brought to the bar. He retracted his former plea, and pleaded Guilty.

Taylor



Taylor being ordered back to prison, *James Dawson*, a Captain, and, *Thomas Deacon*, and *John Berwick*, Lieutenants, were tried, and all found Guilty. The evidences against Dawson were, *Thomas Joy* and *James Warren*; against Deacon, *Bradbury* and *Craig*; against Berwick, *Mr. Bouker* the Manchester constable; and against each of the three, *Maddox*, and Captains *Nevet* and *Carey*. All the prisoners were proved to have acted as officers among the rebels at Carlisle. It was moreover deposed as to Deacon, by *Bradbury*, that the prisoner and others forced the witness, in the absence of his master, to print several treasonable manifestoes, advertisements, &c. And *Maddox* deposed, that Deacon sat at the table at the Bullhead at Manchester, took down the names of such as enlisted in the pretender's service, and received a shilling for each; and when he was writing, he employed himself in making blue and white ribbons into favours, which he gave to the men who enlisted. The prisoners made no defence.

*John Hunter*, an Ensign, was tried also on the 17th. But no evidence deposing that they saw him in arms; and *Cptain Vere*, and others, giving an account, that he had run away eleven miles, in order to escape from the rebels, but was overtaken, and made to return, on pain of death; and that *Captain Vere* and the prisoner were tied together with a rope to a horse's tail, and obliged to run many miles without shoes, in great torment; *Hunter* was acquitted, his irons struck off, and discharged.

The judges this day were, *Lord Chief Justice Willes*, and *Mess. Justices Abney and Foster*; the council for the King, *Mr. Attorney-General*, *Mr. Solicitor-General*, and *Mr. Yorke*; and for the prisoners, *Mr. Serjeant Wynne*, *Mr. Clayton*, and *Mr. Parrot*.

On the 18th, the *Lord Chief Justice Willes*, *Mr. Justice Wright*, and *Mr. Baron Clive*, met in court; and *Andrew Blood*, a Captain, having been brought to the bar, he retracted his former plea, and pleaded Guilty.

Then *John Saunderson* a Captain, *Thomas Syddall*, an Ensign and Adjutant, *James Wilding* and *Charles Deacon*, Ensigns, and *David Morgan*, Esq; Counsel-

lor at Law, were tried, and all found Guilty. It was proved, that they acted as officers in the rebel-army. John Davidson, a Gentleman of Cumberland, Allan Stewart, and Warren, Bradbury, Craig, Joy, &c. before mentioned, were evidences against them.

As to Morgan, in particular; it appeared, that he came out of Monmouthshire, and joined the rebels at Preston, in November 1745; that he procured a warrant from Secretary Murray, directed to the constables of Manchester, to search for arms, on pain of military execution against such as should refuse to deliver them up; that being at dinner with several rebel officers at Derby, he asked Lord Elcho, what number of men they had? to which his Lordship answered, About 4 or 5000, and 17 pieces of cannon; that he then asked, what religion the young Pretender was of? and Lord Elcho replied, shaking his head, that he believed his religion was to seek; that the prisoner advised to beat up for volunteers, and said that it would be an easy matter to march to London, for that there were not above 3000 soldiers between Derby and that city, and these mostly dragoons, except a few undisciplined troops lately raised by Lords Gower and Cholmondeley, who could make but little opposition; that the prisoner was next day seen wearing a sword and a white cockade, walking and conversing with the rebel-officers, who shewed him a more than ordinary regard; and that he was called the Pretender's counsellor. In his defence he endeavoured to prove, that he was forced into the rebellion; and that he attempted to make his escape, and had got at some distance from the rebel-army, but was seized on suspicion, and committed. But it was observed by the court, that he did not endeavour to escape till the Pretender's affairs were desperate; and that as his joining himself to, and acting in concert with the rebels, was sufficiently proved, the jury would consider his attempt to escape at last, as proceeding from necessity, and would pass their judgment upon him according to his voluntary and premeditated actions. The prisoner complained of his being tried last, because, he said, some of the prisoners who had

had been convicted before him, would have been evidences for him; and he made a long harangue to set forth his innocence. But five of the witnesses against him not having been concerned in the rebellion, the jury were so fully satisfied, that they brought him in Guilty, with the rest, who made no defence, without going out of court.

Thus ended the trials of the officers of the Manchester regiment. They were all indicted of three overt acts of high treason, *viz.* of compassing and imagining the death of the King; of levying a cruel and destructive war against his Majesty, wherein many of his loyal subjects lost their lives; and of holding and keeping the city and castle of Carlisle, and adhering to his Majesty's enemies. And this treason was said to have been committed on the 10th of November, in the 19th year of the King's reign, against the duty and allegiance of the prisoners, and against the King's peace, his crown and dignity, &c. The time, place, or circumstances, were not varied in any of the indictments, except Counsellor Morgan's; who was indicted, for having been in arms at Derby, on the 5th of December, and adhering to the King's enemies, &c.

Soon after the court broke up, all those found guilty received notice in writing from the prosecutor for the crown, that they were to receive sentence of death on Tuesday the 22d, and to come prepared if they had anything to move in arrest of judgment.

Accordingly, on said 22d, the Lord Chief Justice Lee, Mess. Justices Wright, Foster, and Abney, and Mess. Barons Reynolds and Clive, met in court, and all the convicts were brought before them. Two points were moved by their council in arrest of judgment: 1. That the test of the commission was not set out in the caption of the indictments; and, 2. That it was not set out in the indictment, that the prisoners were in actual custody on or before the 1st of January 1746 (*i. e.* 1747), pursuant to the late statute. But the court, being unanimously of opinion, that these exceptions were not good in law, over ruled them; and the Lord Chief



Justice Lee, addressing himself to the prisoners, observed, that the crime they stood convicted of, was the most atrocious that mankind could commit; that as they had so greatly offended the government by which they were protected, they could expect no protection or clemency from that government which they had endeavoured to subvert and overturn; that they had murdered many of his Majesty's liege subjects, who lately stood up in defence of their lawful sovereign, and the laws and constitution of their country, whose blood cried for vengeance against them; and that unless they repented sincerely in this world, they would inevitably be doomed to everlasting torments, &c. Then his Lordship pronounced the sentence of the court, declaring, that the following persons were attainted of high treason, in levying war against our Sovereign Lord the King within this realm, viz. *Alexander Abernethy, James Gadd* otherwise *Gad, Thomas Furniwall, Christopher Taylor*, and *Andrew Blood* otherwise *Blyde*, on their own confession; and *Francis Townly, George Fletcher, William Brettaugh* otherwise *Bratter* otherwise *Bretter, Thomas Chadwick* otherwise *Chaddock, Thomas Deacon, James Dawson, John Berwick, John Saunderson, Thomas Syddal, Charles Deacon, James Wilding* otherwise *Wheelding*, and *David Morgan*, on verdict; and concluding thus: 'Let the several prisoners above named return to the goal of the county of Surrey, from whence they came; and from whence they must be drawn to the place of execution; and when they are come there, they must be severally hanged by the neck; but not till they be dead; for they must be cut down alive: then their bowels must be taken out, and burnt before their faces; then their heads must be severed from their bodies and their bodies severally divided into four quarters; and these must be at the King's disposal.' Townly and Dawson spoke each of them a considerable time. It was said that some of them presented petitions to the court, and that in general they desired to be recommended to the King's mercy. On their trials they seemed to have deceived themselves with a vain expectation of deliverance, from a mistaken reli-

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ance on the capitulation of Carlisle, imagining that they were intitled to the same treatment as the subjects of a foreign prince taken prisoners of war on a like capitulation. The council that attended were, for the King, Mr. Attorney-General, Sir John Strange, Mr. Solicitor-General, Sir Richard Llyod, Mr. Yorke, and Mr. Spooner; and for the prisoners, Serjeant Wynne, and Serjeant Eyre.

In passing to and from their trials, the prisoners were very rudely treated by the spectators, who were exceedingly numerous, and whose resentment was so great, that had not the soldiers kept them off, it is probable they would have pulled the prisoners out of the coaches, and torn them to pieces.

On the 29th, an order came to the goal, for the execution, next day, of *Francis Townly, George Fletcher, Thomas Chadwick, James Dawson, Thomas Deacon, John Berwick, Andrew Blood, Thomas Syddal, and David Morgan*; and the other eight, *Alexander Abernethy, James Gad, Thomas Furnival, William Bretah, Christopher Taylor, John Saunderson, James Wilding, and Charles Deacon*, were reprieved for three weeks. It was said, that when the two last were found Guilty, the jury recommended them to the court for his Majesty's clemency, on account of their youth.

Before giving an account of the execution of these unhappy men, we shall relate some particulars concerning their characters, circumstances, &c. from a pamphlet published soon after their executions, intitled, *A genuine account of the behaviour, &c. of Francis Townly, &c.*

*Francis Townly*, aged about thirty seven, years, was born at Townly-hall, in Lancashire, the seat of the family. He was nephew to that Mr. Townly who in 1715 was tried at the Marshalsea court, before Judge Powis, for favouring the Pretender, but acquitted. As Francis was but young when his father died, he soon run through a handsome fortune. He then entered himself a volunteer in the French army; in which he soon got a commission, as was related. While he lay in Newgate, he

kept himself generally in his room, and conversed but little with his fellow prisoners; looking on them, according to our author, as his inferiors, and discovering a great deal of pride and haughtiness. On his trial, his behaviour was serious and undaunted; not at all terrified by the solemnity of the court: nor did he seem in the least ruffled, or to change countenance, when sentence of death was pronounced upon him. He was a Roman Catholic.

*George Fletcher*, aged about twenty eight years, lived with his mother, at Salford, just over the bridge at Manchester, his father having been some time dead. He dealt pretty largely in the linnen manufacture, and had a good character.

*Thomas Chadwick*, aged about thirty two years, was bred a tallow-chandler at Manchester, but did not follow his trade. His father still lives there, has a good reputation, is a Protestant, and brought up his son in the same religion, and gave him an education suitable to his circumstances. Thomas was a man of great resolution, feared no body, and could, as he used to say, look death in the face, with as much pleasure as he would a friend who came to visit him, and could meet it with as much good-will.

*James Dawson*, was of as genteel and reputable a family as any in Lancashire. His father, is esteemed very rich, gave him a liberal education, and brought him up a Protestant, the religion he himself professed. At St. John's colledge, Cambridge, James run into several excesses; and at last, dreading to be expelled the colledge, he ran away from it. But suspecting that his father would not receive him, and meeting the rebel-army at Manchester, he joined it.

*Thomas Deacon* was the son of a Doctor of Physick at Manchester, a Gentleman eminent in his profession, and of an opulent fortune. The Doctor designed to bring up his son Thomas to his own profession, and therefore sent him to the university, intending to give him a very liberal education. But in his education he was unhappily prejudiced in favour of the Pretender. Charles Deacon,



son, a younger son of the Doctor, about seventeen years of age, was one of those that were reprieved; but he was said to have declared, that he would rather die with his brother, than survive him.

*John Berwick*, aged about thirty one years, dealt in checked linen, kept a shop at Manchester, and had a good trade. But it was said, that being a lover of pleasure, he ran behind with the world. He was a man of undaunted resolution, firm to his party, staunch in his principles, and of a bold enterprising disposition.

*Andrew Blood* was of a reputable family in Yorkshire, and was steward to a Gentleman in that county.

*Thomas Syddall*, aged about forty years, a Roman Catholick, born at Manchester, was a barber; and being of a civil deportment, he had a great deal of business in that town. He lived in good credit, and took great care of his family, a wife, and five children, whom he brought up in a genteel manner. His father, was executed at Manchester, and his head put up on the market-cross, being in the rebellion in 1715; but this was so far from being a caution to the son, that he gloried in what he had done; and some of his friends, after sentence, deploring his unhappy condition, and bewailing the distresses which his family must inevitably suffer by his untimely death, his answer was, that he hoped all his children would die in the same cause.

*David Morgan*, Esq; aged near fifty years, was of a good family in Monmouthshire. Having got a liberal education, and being bred to the law, he was in due time called to the bar: but not making a shining figure there, he retired into the country, and, after his father's death, lived chiefly on his estate. Our author's character of this Gentleman is very extraordinary, and therefore we shall give it *verbatim*. viz. "Being naturally of a haughty turbulent disposition, his neighbours, tenants and domesticks, were continually plagued with his ill humours. But to sum up his character in a few words: He was a morose husband, a tyrannical master, a litigious neighbour, an oppressive landlord, and a false friend. He had pride without the least condescension,  
avarice

avarice without a spark of generosity, illnature without a grain of benevolence. But what his virtues and better qualities were, (if he had any) has not come to our knowledge. If they had, we should gladly have mentioned them; that the world might not run away with an opinion, that Mr. Morgan was the only man who ever lived half a century without doing one good action, and that he died unlamented by friend, neighbour or domestick."

It was said, that the prisoners vainly flattered themselves, that they would be deemed prisoners of war, and exchanged in terms, of the cartel between Britain and France; that therefore, having daily got plenty of the best provisions sent them, they lived in general, merrily and inconsiderately; that they would not be undeceived till their trials came on; and that after sentence they kept up their spirits to the same pitch of gaiety they had done before, being fully persuaded that they suffered in a righteous cause. But other accounts said, that, after sentence, the prisoners were attended by several eminent divines; that they regreted their mispent time while in Newgate, occasioned by vain hopes with which a set of visitants flattered them; and that their deportment was in every way suitable to Christians, and Gentlemen in their melancholy circumstances. And in particular, as to Mr. Blood it was said even in this *Genuine account*, that while in Newgate he behaved with great decency, kept his room much, and never mixed with the noisy mirth and riotous living of his fellow-prisoners; that he devoted himself wholly to the duties of religion, seemed to have a deep sense of his past follies, repented sincerely of the part he had acted for the Pretender, and, tho' too late was convinced of his error, and that he seemed so well prepared for death, as not to change countenance, or appear in the least shocked, when the fatal sentence was pronounced that doomed him to a terrible execution. Notwithstanding this, the writer of a pamphlet said, that every one of the rebels that suffered, threw treasonable papers among the mob immediately before their execution.—Which tragical scene

scene we now proceed to relate, for most part as we had it in the same pamphlet.

A friend of Colonel *Townly's* coming to see him after he had received sentence, said, "I believe, Sir, you deceived yourself in imagining you could clear up your own innocence, or invalidate the credit of the King's witnesses." To which Mr. Townly, with tears in his eyes, replied, "My dear friend, I never thought it would come to this."

Mr. *Fletcher* acknowledged, that he had brought this misfortune upon himself by his obstinacy, for that his mother had begged of him, even on her knees, to keep out of the rebellion; and when no persuasions could prevail, she offered him a thousand pounds to do with as he pleased, if he would hearken to her advices. But all to no purpose.

Some of Mr. *Blood's* acquaintance that came to visit him the night before he suffered, flattered him with the hopes of a reprieve, for some powerful friends, they said, had made intercession for him. But he paid little regard to what they said, and answered, "That he entertained no such hopes; that he had been long in expectation of death, and was prepared for it, and was not in the least afraid to meet it; for all men must die, and he had as lieu die now as a great while hence."

The day before execution, Mr. *Dawson's* father came to see him, in order to take his final leave of him. But how unutterable was his sorrow at his meeting him in such a place, and in such a condition! Tears prevented him speaking a word for some minutes, and sighs and broken expressions was all that could be heard for a good while. At length, falling on his neck, he was just able to say, "O my dear child, what would I give were it in my power to save thee!"—with other melting expressions, which brought tears from the eyes of all that beheld them.—And thus he held him fast locked in his embrace for some time; and when they parted, how did his passions struggle in his paternal breast! But it is easier to imagine, than with words to describe this moving scene.

That



That night also, the father of Mr. *Chadwick* came to take his last farewell, and appeared in such deep affliction for the unhappy fate of his son, that the young man could not forbear being affected with his tenderness, and burst into tears to see his father in so much trouble on his account. And this was the more remarkable, as he was always noted for being a man of undaunted resolution, and that this was the first time, since his imprisonment, that he had discovered any concern about his condition.

Counsellor *Morgan's* wife also came to take her leave of him the same night. All the time of his imprisonment, she waited on him with uncommon assiduity, and behaved with all the love and tenderness becoming an affectionate wife.

The friends and relations of all the rest paid them their last visit the same evening; and abundance of tears and tender expressions passed on so moving an occasion. However, the prisoners seemed hearty and cheerful, and desired their friends to be under no concern for them, for as they suffered in a good cause, they were sure of being happy.

A young Gentleman who had often been familiar with them in Newgate, coming to see and take his leave of them in the morning they were executed, could not forbear even with tears, expressing his extreme concern for their approaching fate. But they, with the greatest seeming unconcern, bid him not grieve for them; for that they were happy, having done nothing that they saw cause to repent of, and would do the same again had they the same opportunity.

In the morning of their execution Charles Deacon who had been reprieved, went up into his brother's room to take his last farewell of him. But tho' he went up with all the courage imaginable, yet the sight of his brother, and reflecting, at the same instant that he should immediately be for ever torn from him, was such a shock upon him that he had much ado to keep upon his legs, and was forced to be supported in coming down stairs.

The

The same morning while they were at breakfast, Mr Chadwick said to Mr. Berwick, "Ah! Duke (for that was the name that Berwick went by in the rebel army), our time draws very near; tho' as to my part, I am as hearty as ever I was in my life." Mr. Berwick replied, "As to my part, I think we all look pretty well, and I declare death don't thock me in the least. I hope God Almighty will be merciful to us all: for I can lay my hand on my heart, and say, that the greatest injury I ever did, was to myself and relations, and tho' I have brought them and myself to disgrace, they have been so kind as to forgive me and would have saved my life had it been in their power."

The warrant for their execution was not sent from the Secretary's office till two o'clock in the afternoon preceeding the day of their execution. And when they were informed they must die the next day, they seemed not at all shocked, but rather chearful, only saying, *God's will be done.* They went to rest at the usual hour, and slept soundly; but first took leave of all their friends.

The next morning they were called up about six o'clock, and unloosed from the floor, to which they had been chained down after the sentence of death was passed upon them. They then ordered coffee to be got ready for their breakfast, as soon as they were brought down into the yard. And after breakfast they had their iorns knocked off, in the following order. 1. *Townly*, 2. *Morgan*, 3. *Deacon*, 4. *Dawson*, 5. *Berwick*, 6. *Fletcher*, 7. *Chadwick*, 8. *Syddall*, 9. *Blood*.

When the halter was put about Syddall, he was observed to tremble very much; tho' he endeavoured to conceal his disorder from the spectators, by taking a pinch of snuff. As the executioner was fastening his hands, he lifted up his eyes, and said *O Lord help me.*

Being thus pinioned, the keeper put them into a room backward for a short time, till the sledges were got ready. They were then put into three sledges, each drawn by three horses, and were carried from the goal, about ten o'clock, to Kennington common, in the following

following order, viz. First, a party of dragoons; next a large party of the the foot-guards; then, the three sledges, (in the first of which were, *Townly, Blood, Berwick*; and the executioner with a drawn scymeter; in the second, *Morgan, Deacon* and *Syddall*; and in the third, *Dawson, Fletcher* and *Chadwick*), surrounded by the foot-guards; who also brought up the rear. A pile of faggots and a block were placed near the gallows; and while the prisoners were removed from the sledges into a cart drawn under the tree for that purpose, the faggots were set on fire and the guards formed a circle round the place of execution. The prisoners were not attended by any clergyman, either Protestant or Roman Catholick; but Mr. Morgan, with his spectacles on, read prayers and other pious meditations to them out of a book of devotion; to which the rest seemed very attentive, and joined devoutly in all the prayers and ejaculations with a great deal of seriousness. They continued thus above half an hour, and behaved with great resolution, in a manner suitable to their unhappy circumstances, all of them seeming calm and composed, tho' none shed tears. After they had finished their devotions, every one of them took some written papers out of the book which he held in his hand, and threw them, and their prayer-books, among the spectators. The contents of the papers were, That they died in a just cause: that they did not repent of what they had done; that they doubted not but their deaths would be revenged; and several other treasonable expressions. They likewise delivered papers severally to the Sheriff; and then flung away their hats, six of which were laced with gold, all of them having been genteelly dressed. Immediately after, the executioner pulled their caps out of their pockets, put them on, and drew them over their eyes, and then they were turned off. When they had hung about three minutes, the soldiers pulled off their shoes, white stockings, and breeches, and the executioner pulled off the rest of their cloaths. He then cut down the body of Mr. Townly, and laid it on the block. But observing some signs of  
life



life in it, he struck it several blows on the breast; then taking out the bowels and heart, he threw them into the fire, and afterwards, with a cleaver, severed the head from the body, and put both into a coffin. He next cut down Mr. Morgan, and afterwards all the rest; unbowelling and beheading them one by one, in the same manner as he did Mr. Townly. When the executioner put the last heart, which was Mr. Dawson's, into the fire, he cried, *God save King George*; and the multitude of spectators gave a shout. The heads and bodies in coffins were conveyed back on the sledges to the new goal, Southwark, from whence they came, there to remain till the King's pleasure should be known.—There was present the greatest number of spectators ever seen together in the memory of man, some thousands of whom had waited in the rain several hours to see the execution of these unhappy men. But it was observed, that the mob offered no insults to any of the prisoners that day, tho' they had behaved very rudely to them in passing to and from their trials.

Charles Deacon was carried from goal in a coach, guarded by a party of soldiers, to see the executions.

*Extract of a Letter from London, dated July 31. 1746.*

“The following account, the truth of which may be depended upon, is an undeniable, tho' melancholy proof, that constancy and tenderness has not altogether forsook the bosoms of the fair.

A young Lady of a good family and handsome fortune, had, for some time, extremely loved, and been equally beloved by Mr. James Dawson, one of those unhappy Gentlemen who suffered at Kennington common for high treason; and, had he been either acquitted, or, after condemnation, found the Royal mercy, the day of his enlargement was to have been that of their marriage.”

I will not prolong the narrative, by any repetition of what she suffered on sentence having passed upon him. None, excepting those utterly incapable of feeling any soft or generous emotions, but may easily conceive her

agonies. Besides, the sad-catastrophe will be sufficient to convince you of their sincerity.

Not all the persuasions of her kindred could prevent her from going to the place of execution;—she was determined to see the last of a person so dear to her; and accordingly followed the sledges in a hackney-coach, accompanied by a Gentleman nearly related to her, and one female friend.—She got near enough to see the fire kindled which was to consume that heart she knew so much devoted to her, and all the other dreadful preparations for his fate, without being guilty of any of those extravagancies her friends had apprehended. But when all was over, and she found he was no more, she drew her head back into the coach, and crying out,—*My dear, I follow thee,——I follow thee;——sweet Jesus! receive both our souls together!* fell on the neck of her companion, and expired in the very moment she was speaking.

That excess of grief, which the force of her resolution had kept smothered within her breast, it was thought, put a stop to the vital motion, and suffocated, at once, all the animal spirits; but I leave the physicians to account for that.—I shall only say, the story very much affected me, as I doubt not but it will you, and all who hear it."

An order of the house of Lords dated the 8th of July 1746, was published in the Gazette of July 12th, ordering the Lords who should attend the trials of the three rebel peers, to attend the house on the 24th and 25th, to take the oaths. Westminster hall was fitted up in a magnificent manner, and the Peers got tickets from the Lord Chamberlain, to be given to the persons that were to get access to their trials.—Mr. George Ross was appointed solicitor for Kilmarnock and Balmerino, and Mr. Adam Gordon, for Cromertie, at their own request.

On Monday the 28th of July, at eight o'clock in the morning the Judges in their robes, with Garter King of Arms, the Usher of the Black Rod, and the Serjeant at Arms, waited on the Lord High Steward at his house in Ormond-street; Garter in his coat of the King's arms, Black-

Black Rod having the white staff, and the Serjeant at Arms his mace. The three last waited in an apartment while the Judges went to the Lord High Steward to pay their compliments to his Grace.

After a short stay, his Grace came to his coach in the following order.

His Grace's twenty Gentlemen, two and two uncovered.

His Serjeant at Arms and Seal-bearer, both uncovered, one with his mace, and the other with the purse.

The Black Rod, with the Lord High Steward's staff, and Garter King of Arms on his right hand, in his coat of arms, both uncovered.

His Grace the Lord High Steward, in his rich gown, his train borne, followed by the Chief Justices and Judges.

His Grace seated himself on the hinder seat of the coach, singly; Garter and the Seal-bearer, on the other seat, over against his Grace, uncovered; the Black Rod, in the right-hand boot, with his Grace's white staff; and his Grace's Serjeant at Arms, in the left boot, with his mace; his Grace's Gentlemen, in the five leading coaches, and the Judges followed his Grace, in their own coaches.

His Grace, thus attended, passed thro' the Red-Lion square, cross Holborn, down Little and Great Queen-street, Long-acre, St. Martin's lane, and King-street, with the Judges, &c. to the Old Palace yard, (where the soldiers rested their muskets, and the drums beat as to the Royal family), and so up the stairs to the house of Peers, thro' the Painted Chamber.

The Peers in their robes, and the mace deposited upon the uppermost woolhack, his Grace passed on to the Lord Chancellor's room. The staff was not brought within the house of Peers.

His Grace having staid there a while, came into the House again, and prayers began. Then the Peers were called over; Garter or his deputy being allowed to come to the Clerk's table to make a list of the Peers present. Which done, and the Black Rod being sent to



see that the court in Westminster hall, and the passages to it, were clear; and giving an account to the house that they were so, they proceeded towards Westminster hall, thus.

His Grace the Lord High Steward's Gentlemen, attendants, two and two. — Four Clerks of the house, two and two. — The two Clerks of the crown, bearing the commission of the Lord High Steward. — Masters in Chancery, two and two. — Attorney General — Judges. — Peers eldest sons. — Peers minors. — Four Serjeants at Arms, with their maces, two and two. — The Yeoman Usher of the house of Peers — The Peers according to their degrees and precedency, two and two, (the youngest Barons first), all covered. — Four Serjeants at Arms more, with their maces, two and two. — His Grace's Seal-bearer and Serjeant at Arms. — The Black Rod and Garter. — The Lord High Steward alone, covered, his train borne.

The Lords being seated on their benches, and the Judges and Masters in Chancery below on their seats; the Lord High Steward making a reverence to the state, and saluting the Peers, seated himself on the woofsack as Speaker of the house of Lords.

The two Clerks of the Crown being ready at the Clerks table, and the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, having the King's commission to the Lord High Steward in his hand, both made three reverences to his Grace and at the third, coming before the woofsack, kneeled down, and the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, on his knee, presented the commission to his Grace; who delivered it to the Clerk of the Crown in the King's bench; and they, making three reverences, and return in to the Clerks table, the Clerk of the Crown in the King's-bench opened the commission, and read it; having first directed his Grace's Serjeant at Arms to make proclamation for silence; which he did, with his mace upon his shoulder.

While the commission was reading, his Grace and all the Lords stood up, all uncovered. After which his Grace, making obeysance, reseated himself, and then Garter

Garter and the Black Rod, with three reverences, jointly presented the white staff on their knees to his Grace. And being fully invested in his office, he with the white staff in his hand, removed from the woolstack to the chair placed for him, on an ascent before the throne, and sat down.

In the time of this procession, the three rebel Lords were brought from the tower; the Earl of Kilmarnock, in Lord Cornwallis's coach, attended by General Williamson, Deputy Governor of the tower; the Earl of Cromertie, in General Williamson's coach, attended by Captain Marshal; and Lord Balmerino, in the third coach, attended by Mr. Fowler, Gentleman Goaler, who had the ax covered by him. They were carried thus to Westminster hall, under a strong guard of soldiers.

The court being met, as above, proclamation was made by the Serjeant at Arms, for the Lieutenant of the tower to return the precept to him directed, with the bodies of the prisoners. Which done the prisoners were brought to the bar, having the ax carried before them by the Gentleman Goaler, the edge turned from them. The reciprocal compliments over between the prisoners and the court, the Lord High Steward, after moving for, and obtaining leave, advanced forward, the better to hear and be heard. Then Kilmarnock's indictment was read, to which his Lordship pleaded Guilty: as was next Cromertie's; and he in like manner pleaded Guilty: both recommending themselves to the King's mercy. Balmerino instead of pleading Guilty or Not guilty, on hearing his indictment read, as the English form, of which his Lordship had no knowledge, requires, asked the Lord High Steward, if it would be of service to him to prove that he was not present at the siege of Carlisle? for that he was ten miles distant at the time specified in the indictment. His Grace answered, That it might, or might not be of service, according to the circumstances: but observed to the Lords, that it was contrary to form, to allow the prisoner to ask any questions before he pleaded; and then desired him to plead. Balme-

rimo having answered, That he was pleading as well as he could, the Lord High Steward explained what was meant by *pleading*; and then his Lordship pleaded Not guilty. Upon which, after hearing the King's council, *viz.* the Attorney and Solicitor General, and Sir John Strange, the court examined five or six witnesses; by whom it was proved, That his Lordship entered Carlisle (tho' not on the day specified in the indictment) at the head of a regiment of horse called by his name *Elphinston's* horse, with his sword drawn. The prisoners had no council; but Balmerino himself made an exception; which was over-ruled. Then the Lord High Steward asked, If he had any thing further to offer in his defence? To which his Lordship answered that he was sorry he had given the court so much trouble, and had nothing more to say. Hereupon the Lords retired to the house of Peers; where the opinion of the Judges being asked touching the overt act, they declared that it was not material, as other facts were proved beyond contradiction. On this they returned to the hall; and the Lord High Steward, asking them one by one, (beginning with the youngest Baron, *My Lord of—*; *Is Arthur Lord Balmerino guilty of high treason, or not?* was answered by each, clapping his right hand to his left breast, *Guilty, upon my honour, my Lord.* Before the question was put, the Bishops having moved for and obtained leave, withdrew; as is usual in such cases. The prisoners being again called to the bar, and the Lord High Steward having declared to them the resolution of the court, they were sent back to the tower, and notice was given them, if they had any thing to move in arrest of judgement, to be prepared against eleven o'clock of the 30th; to which time the court adjourned. After being found Guilty, the ax was carried with the edge towards them. There were 136 Peers present.

Accordingly the court met at the time appointed; and the prisoners having been brought to the bar, the Lord High Steward made a speech, and then asked each of them, If he had any thing to offer why judgment of death should



should not pass upon him? In answer to which, the following speeches were made.

*The Earl of Kilmarnock's speech.*

*May it please your Grace, and my Lords,*

**I** Have already, from a due sense of my folly, and the heinousness of those crimes with which I stand charged, confessed myself guilty, and obnoxious to those punishments which the laws of the land have wisely provided for offences of so deep a dye. Nor would I have your Lordships to expect, that what I am now to offer is intended to extenuate those crimes, or palliate my offences. No: I mean only to address myself to your Lordships merciful disposition, to excite so much compassion in your Lordships breasts, as to prevail on his Grace, and this Honourable house, to intercede with his Majesty for his Royal clemency

Tho' the situation I am now in, and the folly and rashness which has exposed me to this disgrace, cover me with confusion, when I reflect upon the unfulfilled honour of my ancestors; yet I cannot help mentioning their unshaken fidelity, and steady loyalty to the crown, as a proper subject to excite that compassion which I am now soliciting. My father was an early and steady friend to the revolution, and was very active in promoting every measure that tended to settle and secure the Protestant succession in these kingdoms. He not only in his publick capacity promoted these events, but in his private supported them; and brought me up, and endeavoured to instil into my early years, those revolution-principles which had always been the rule of his actions.

It had been happy for me, my Lords, that I had been always influenced by his precepts, and acted in his example. Yet I believe, upon the strictest inquiry will appear, that the whole tenor of my life, from my first entering into the world, to the unhappy minute in which I was seduced to join in this rebellion, has been agreeable to my duty and allegiance, and consistent with the strictest loyalty.

For

For the truth of this, I need only appeal to the manner in which I have educated my children; the eldest of which has the honour to bear a commission under his Majesty, and has always behaved like a Gentleman. I brought him up in the true principles of the revolution, and an abhorrence of Popery and arbitrary power. His behaviour is known to many of this Honourable house; and therefore I take the liberty to appeal to your Lordships, if it is possible that my endeavours in his education would have been attended with such success, if I had not myself been sincere in those principles; and an enemy to those measures which have now involved me and my family in ruin? Had my mind at that time been tainted with disloyalty and disaffection, I could not have dissimbled so closely with my own family, but some tincture would have devolved to my children.

I have endeavoured, as much as my capacity or interest would admit, to be serviceable to the crown on all occasions: and even at the breaking out of the rebellion, I was so far from approving their measures, or shewing the least proneness to promote their unnatural scheme, that by my interest in Kilmarnock, and places adjacent, I prevented numbers from joining them, and encouraged the country as much as possible, to continue firm to their allegiance.

When that unhappy hour arrived in which I became a party, which was not till after the battle of Preston, I was far from being a person of any consequence amongst them. I did not buy up any arms, nor raise a single man in their service. I endeavoured to moderate their cruelty, and was happily instrumental in saving the lives of many of his Majesty's loyal subjects, whom they had taken prisoners. I assisted the sick and wounded, and did all in my power to make their confinement tolerable.

I had not been long with them before I saw my error, and reflected with horror on the guilt of swerving from my allegiance to the best of sovereigns; the dishonour which it reflected upon myself; and the fatal ruin which it necessarily brought upon my family. I then determined to leave them, and submit to his Majesty's clemency,

as soon as I should have an opportunity. For this I separated myself from my corps at the battle of Culloden, and staid to surrender myself a prisoner; tho' I had frequent opportunities, and might have escaped with great ease. For the truth of which, I appeal to the Noble person to whom I surrendered.

But, my Lords, I did not endeavour to make my escape; because the consequences, in an instant, appeared to be more terrible, more shocking, than the most painful or ignominious death. I chose therefore to surrender, and commit myself to the King's mercy, rather than to throw myself into the hands of a foreign power, the natural enemy to my country; with whom to have merit, I must persist in continued acts of violence to my principles, and of treason and rebellion against my King and country.

It is with the utmost abhorrence and detestation I have seen a letter from the French court, presuming to dictate to a British monarch the manner he should deal with his rebellious subjects. I am not so much in love with life, nor so void of a sense of honour, as to expect it upon such an intercession. I depend only upon the merciful intercession of this Honourable house, and the innate clemency of his sacred Majesty.

But if, my Lords, if all I have offered is not a sufficient motive to your Lordships to induce you to employ your interest with his Majesty for his Royal clemency in my behalf, I shall lay down my life with the utmost resignation; and my last moments shall be employed in fervent prayers for the preservation of the illustrious house of Hanover, and the peace and prosperity of Great Britain.

*The Earl of Cromertie's speech.*

*My Lords,*

I Have now the misfortune to appear before your Lordships, guilty of an offence of such a nature as justly merits the highest indignation of his Majesty, your Lordships, and the public: and it was from a conviction of my guilt, that I did not presume to trouble your Lordships



ships with any defence. As I have committed treason, it is the last thing I would attempt to justify. My only plea shall be your Lordships compassion, my only refuge his Majesty's clemency. Under this heavy load of affliction I have still the satisfaction, my Lords, of hoping that my past conduct before the breaking out of the rebellion was irreproachable, as to my attachment to the present happy establishment both in church and state: and in evidence of my affection to the government, upon the breaking out of the rebellion, I appeal to the then commander in chief of his Majesty's forces at Inverness, and to the Lord President of the court of Session in Scotland, who I am sure will do justice to my conduct upon that occasion. But, my Lords, notwithstanding my determined resolution in favour of the government, I was unhappily seduced from that loyalty, in an unguarded moment, by the arts of desperate and designing men. And it is notorious, my Lords, that no sooner did I awake from that delusion, than I felt a remorse for my departure from my duty; but it was then too late.

Nothing, my Lords, remains, but to throw myself, my life, and fortune, upon your Lordships compassion. But of these, my Lords, as to myself is the least part of my sufferings. I have involved an affectionate wife, with an unborn infant, as parties of my guilt, to share its penalties; I have involved my eldest son, whose infancy, and regard to his parents, hurried him down the stream of rebellion; I have involved also eight innocent children, who must feel their parent's punishment before they know his guilt. Let them, my Lords, be pledges to his Majesty; let them be pledges to your Lordships; let them be pledges to my country, for mercy; let the silent eloquence of their grief and tears; let the powerful language of innocent nature supply my want of eloquence and persuasion; let me enjoy mercy, but no longer than I deserve it; and let me no longer enjoy life, than I shall use it to deface the crime I have been guilty of. Whilst I thus intercede to his Majesty, thro' the meditation of your Lordships, for mercy, let my remorse for my guilt as a subject; let the sorrow of my heart as a husband;

husband; let the anguish of my mind as a father, speak the rest of my misery. As your Lordships are men, feel as men; but may none of you ever suffer the smallest part of my anguish.

But if, after all, my Lords, my safety shall be found inconsistent with that of the publick, and nothing but my life can atone for my unhappy crime; if the sacrifice of my fortune, and family, is judged indispensably necessary for stopping the loud demands of publick justice; and if the bitter cup is not to pass from me; not mine, - but thy will, O God, be done.

When the question was put to Balmerino, his Lordship pleaded, that an indictment could not be found in the county of Surrey, for a crime laid to have been committed at Carlisle, in December last; in regard the act ordaining the rebels to be tried in such counties as the King should appoint, which was not passed till March, could not have a retrospect; and desired to be allowed council. On this the Earl of Bath asked, If the Noble Lord at the bar had had any council allowed him? and was answered, that he had never desired any. Balmerino replied, that all the defences that had occurred to himself or his solicitor having been laid before a counsellor, and by him judged to be trifling, his Lordship did not chuse to give the court needless trouble; and that the above objection had been communicated to him only an hour or two before he was then brought into court. The Duke of Newcastle proposed, that the King's council should be ordered to answer the objection immediately. This having been opposed, the Earl of Granville moved, that they should adjourn to the house of Peers, because they could not debate as a court; which was agreed to. After debate, council was allowed. The Duke of Bedford, and the Earls of Cholmondely, Granville, and Bath, spoke for it. When they were returned to the hall, the Earl of Bath moved, that as the Lord Balmerino would not perhaps ask for any particular persons, the Lord High Steward should be desired to name his council. But this his Grace declined; alledging, that he was but a single judge; and that the only thing peculiar to his office was, to  
preside

preside, and to pronounce sentence; having no more power than any other Lord. The court then assigned Mess. Wilbraham and Forrester for council to Lord Balmerino; and adjourned till the 1st of August.

The prisoners having been accordingly brought to the bar that day, the two Earls were again asked, If they had any thing to propose why judgment should not pass against them? and answered in the negative. Then the Lord High Steward informed Balmerino, that having started an objection, desired council, and had their assistance, he was now to make use of it if he thought fit. His Lordship answered, that his council having satisfied him there was nothing in the objection that could do him service, he declined having them heard; that he would not have made the objection if he had not been persuaded there was ground for it; and that he was sorry for the trouble he had given his Grace and the Peers. All the prisoners having thus submitted to the court, and relied on the King's mercy, the Lord High Steward made a pathetick speech to them, and concluded with pronouncing sentence, in these words. "The judgment of the law is, and this high court doth award, *That you, William Earl of Kilmarnock, George Earl of Gromartie, and Arthur Lord Balmerino, and every of you, return to the prison of the tower, from whence you came; from thence you must be drawn to the place of execution; when you come there, you must be hanged by the neck; but not till you are dead; for you must be cut down alive; then your bowels must be taken out, and burnt before your faces; then your heads must be severed from your bodies; and your bodies must be divided each into four quarters; and these must be at the King's disposal.* And God Almighty be merciful to your souls!—The Law, as Earl Cowper, Lord High Steward in 1716, observed, is deaf to all distinctions of persons; and therefore requires, that, in cases of high treason, the above should be the sentence, against the highest, as well as against the meanest offenders, tho' the most ignominious and painful parts of it are usually remitted, by the grace of the crown, to persons of quality.

After



After sentence, the prisoners were taken from the bar; and the Lord High Steward, standing up uncovered, broke his staff, and pronounced the commission dissolved. Then leaving the chair, he seated himself upon the wool-sack, and asked, if it was their Lordships pleasure to adjourn to the house of Lords; which being agreed to, they all returned in the order they came down. The Lord Chance'llor received the thanks of the house, and he was desired to cause print his speech.

Petitions were presented, in the name of *William late Earl of Kilmarnock*, to the King, the Prince, and the Duke; in which, he endeavoured to alleviate his crime, and to vindicate his character from some aspersions which had been thrown upon it.

Great interest was made in behalf of the Earl of Cromertie. His Lady went about, the day after sentence, with petitions to the Lords of the cabinet-council; and on Sunday, August 3d she was at Kensington, in deep mourning; and falling down on her knees to the King as he was going to the chapel, took hold of the hem of his coat, held out a petition, and swooned away. His Majesty raised her up with his own hand, took her petition from her, and gave it to the Duke of Grafton, who was behind; desiring Lady Stair, who accompanied Lady Cromertie, to carry her to an apartment where she might be taken care of. A day or two after, the Dukes of Hamilton and Montrose, the Earl of Stair, and several others, interceded with the King in his behalf, and it was by some people expected that both the Earls would be pardoned. As for Balmerino, a letter from London, dated August 7th, said that he never asked his life; that, the day after sentence, hearing that the two Earls had made application for mercy, he said, by way of a sneer, That as they had so great interest at court, they might have squeez'd his name in with their own; that a Gentleman who went on the 6th to speak to him on business, excusing himself for intruding on the few hours his Lordship had left, Balmerino replied, "No intrusion at all, Sir; for I have done nothing to make my conscience uneasy. I shall die with a true  
D d heart,

heart, and undaunted; for I think no man fit to live, that is not fit to die; nor am I any ways concerned at what I have done;" and that his Jacobite friends imprudently called this behaviour heroism.—On the 9th the Earl of Cromertie received a pardon or reprieve; on the 11th an order was signed in council, for the execution of the Earl of Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino on Tower-hill on Monday the 18th; and on the 12th, two writs passed the great seal, to empower the Lord Cornwallis, Constable of the tower, to deliver their bodies to the Sheriffs of London that day, for execution.

Mr. James Foster, an eminent dissenting clergyman, attended the Earl of Kilmarnock, and published an account of his behaviour after his sentence, and on the day of his execution. According to which, at their first interview, in the evening of the 7th of August, this unhappy Lord was so sensible of the great crime of his rebellion, that he assured Mr. Foster, "That, in the hours of his confinement and solitude, he had felt it lie as a severe and heavy load upon his soul; and particularly upon these two accounts, which were peculiar aggravations of his guilt, that he had been a rebel against his conscience and inward principles, and in violation of his oath solemnly and often repeated." And when in order to take in the whole compass of his guilt, Mr. Foster represented, "That the rebellion was entirely unprovoked and ungrateful, and of consequence most unjust and unnatural; that the King's right to the crown was, even in his Lordship's own opinion, incontestable, and his government had ever been mild and gracious; and that his Lordship, by joining the rebels, had been instrumental in diffusing consternation and terror thro' the land, obstructing commerce, giving a shock to public credit, in the depredation and ruin of his country, and ought to consider himself as an accessory to innumerable private oppressions, and murders," he himself added, with a sensible concern, *Yea, and murders of the innocent too!*

But

But when the consequences of the rebellion were mentioned to him, That by it not only the personal rights of the King and his illustrious house were attacked, but the national happiness was endeavoured to be destroyed, and the hopes of posterity frustrated: and that its natural tendency was to the utter subversion of our excellent free constitution, to extirpate our holy religion; and introduce the monstrous superstitions and cruelties of Popery, and the unbounded mischief of arbitrary power:—"Here (says Mr. Foster) he hesitated, and did not seem to have so clear a conviction as I thought was necessary to render his repentance complete. He said, he had considered this as a thing possible, or, at most, as a remotely probable consequence: but had not looked upon it as so closely connected with the success of the rebellion, as was generally imagined: That as far as he could learn from all the conversations he had with the Pretender's son, and all the knowledge he could gain of his sentiments, he was not a person that had a real concern for any outward profession of religion; he thought therefore, that, to introduce popery, he would not run the risk of defeating his main design; that the experiences which his pretended family had had of the ill effects of making any violent attack upon the constitution and liberties of this country, would make him cautious and deliberate; or hoped, that the generous invincible spirit of British liberty would render all attempts unsuccessful; for that he himself was never, in the utmost heat of his rebellion, a well-wisher to tyrannical power and popery, which last he could never embrace, without entirely renouncing his understanding as a man."

"To this I answered, (continues Mr. Foster,) That I was sorry to find his Lordship had been imposed upon by such vain and fallacious reasoning; that if what he had said of the son was really true, yet the father, whose spurious claim he came to assert, was, by all accounts, an inflexible bigot to the Romish superstition; that it could not be imagined, but that the young Pretender, also having been chiefly educated at Rome,



thought himself under the strongest obligations to promote the same cause; that the manifesto he had published was in the same strain with the declaration of King James II. *viz.* - That he intended to allow to *all* his subjects free liberty of conscience; which, the Protestant people of England plainly saw, was intended to open Popish mass-houses, and, under the colour of this indulgence, to bring a swarm of Priests to corrupt and poison the land; that, without doubt, the courts, of France and Spain would never have attempted to support this usurpation, without having directly stipulated in favour of Popery, and for the extirpation of the Protestant religion, the great support of British liberty; that if thro' the pusillanimity and consternation of the people, (who by collecting the fiftieth part of their force, were able to have trampled down the rebels under their feet, and to have extinguished every spark of this unnatural conspiracy), they should have come into possession of present power; yet it could not be imagined, but that the King (who was a great prince in virtue of his foreign dominions, and who would be supported by the Protestant states of Europe, and, in all probability, by the house of Austria too, in order to preserve a just balance, and restrain the exorbitant power of France) must make long and vigorous efforts to recover his legal right; that the Pretender's government could therefore never be established, without a French standing army to insult and awe the nation; which would only be granted upon condition of our making a hasty and inglorious peace, betraying the most important and valuable parts of our commerce, and seems to render the sacrifice of our religion and liberties not only highly probable, but absolutely inevitable. This was the substance of our conversations upon this head: in the close of which he declared, That he saw the consequences in a quite different light from what they had ever appeared to him before, and sincerely lamented his having any hand in entailing such evils upon his country. And when I told him, That I supposed he had never allowed himself to enter deeply and seriously into the subject; he said, That, in truth

truth, he was not very fond of thinking much about it, but rather inclined to flatter and delude himself."

When asked, What could be his motive to engage thus in the rebellion, against his conscience, and in violation of sacred oaths? he answered, That the true root of all, was his careless and dissolute life, by which he had reduced himself to great and perplexing difficulties; that the exigency of his affairs was in particular very pressing at the time of the rebellion; that, besides the general hope he had of mending his fortune by the success of it, he was also tempted by another prospect, of retrieving his circumstances, if he followed the Pretender's standard; and that his love of vanity, and addictedness to impurity and sensual pleasure, had not only brought pollution and guilt upon his soul, but debased his reason, and, for a time, suspended the exercise of his social affections, which were by nature strong in him, and in particular, the love of his country.

"Heavy charges of inhumanity and cruelty, I told him, were spread among the people concerning him; and by many believed. I desired him therefore to be honest and free in clearing his conscience of such a load of most unnatural guilt, by answering to the following interrogations, which included in them the substance of these charges.

Was your Lordship present in the Pretender's council at Inverness, or any other place before the battle of Culloden, where it was proposed to destroy the prisoners taken by the rebels?—*I can most sincerely and freely answer, No.*

Was you ever present in council where this was proposed?—*No.*

Did you ever move such an order?—*No.*

Did you ever sign such an order?—*No.*

Did you every carry an order of this kind to the French General Stapleton? Did you ever in his presence approve of such an order? Did you at any time, hearing it had been communicated to him, encourage and excite him to the execution of it?—*To all which he answered in the same manner, No.*

Did you ever know, or hear, that such a thing, or an order to give no quarter, was debated, or agreed to, or signed in the rebel-army, till you was taken by the King's forces, and a prisoner at Inverness? Or do you know yourself guilty of any cruelties, by you authorised or committed, against the King's soldiers or subjects taken prisoners by the rebels?—The answer to both these questions was the same as before.

As to what passed in the church of St. Ninian's, he told me he knew nothing at all of it, till, upon the retreat of the rebel-army, he was at some distance from Stirling, where he had been confined to his bed by a fever; that the first notice he had of it, was the noise of blowing up the church; of which he could never get any but an indistinct and confused account; that it was represented by the rebels as accidental: but concerning this, he could certainly say nothing; only, as to himself, he solemnly declared, that he had no knowledge beforehand of any concurrence in a designed act of cruelty.

I told him, however, that he was charged with an instance of barbarity to the prisoners confined in the church at Inverness. And the account which he gave of the fact, was as follows. That there were orders issued by the Pretender's son, to strip them of their cloathing, for the use of some of the highland rebels; that the warrant for executing this order was sent to him; that he did not enter the church in person, but committed the execution of it to an inferior officer; that the prisoners, at first, refused to submit; upon which there was a second order, and their cloaths were taken from them; but that, in the mean time, the person stiled the French Ambassador represented to him, that this was an outrage, which he thought scarce justifiable by the law of nations, and the rules of war; he therefore, while the cloaths lay in a heap, with proper centinels over them, in the streets of Inverness, went up to the Pretender's son, and represented the matter in the light in which the French Ambassador had stated it, and according to what were his own sentiments likewise; upon which, as it was feared that such usage might make an  
ill



ill impression upon the minds of the people, the cloaths were again restored. And this, he averred to me, was the whole of the truth, as far as it ever fell under his knowledge."

Mr. Foster said, that this unfortunate Nobleman was of a soft, benevolent disposition, always remarkably mild and temperate in his behaviour, and free and ingenious in his confessions; and of the last, gives, among others, the following unquestionable instance. "His Lordship had been charged, and he imagined without a just foundation, with having uttered a falsehood, when he said in his speech at the bar of the house of Lords, that, *It was very easy for him to have escaped.* This he still thought was true upon the rebel army's first giving way, as the greatest part of that body actually did escape, with whom he was joined. But after he had separated himself from them, and was advanced any considerable way towards the King's troops, he believed that his escape was not practicable. But tho' he hoped that this would clear him from the imputation of having wilfully prevaricated in the instance already mentioned; yet he owned that in another, induced by the love and strong desire of life, he had grossly falsified. The case, as he represented it to me, was thus. He had asserted in his speech, That tho' he could have escaped, he did not chuse it, because the consequences, in an instant, appeared more terrible. But the real truth was, That he had no intention at all to surrender; and that his only view was, to facilitate his escape: for that he thought the body towards which he advanced, were not the King's but Fitzjames's horse; and that if he could reach them, by mounting behind one of the dragoons, his escape would have been more certain, than, as he was then on foot, it appeared to him in his present situation to be: tho' he did not find his strength or spirits in any considerable degree impaired. This, he thought, as it related to his inward intention only, could not be discovered but by his own confession, nor known to any but God and his own conscience. But he was willing to unburden his soul, and purge it of the most secret guilt;

guilt; therefore pressed it upon me in a particular manner, and especially on the very day before he was executed, not to forget to publish to the world this circumstance; because as he had solemnly uttered, before so august an assembly as the house of Lords, a direct and known untruth, he thought, if he should die without a retraction of it, and a publick acknowledgment of his offence, he must be considered as one who presumed to appear before the tribunal of God with a lie in his mouth. And here I cannot help thinking myself bound, in justice to Lady Kilmarnock, to declare, that he said to me, tho' she was bred in different sentiments, that he thought her now more inclined to Whiggish than Jacobite principles. And the Reverend and Hon. Mr. Home, and Mr. Ross his Lordship's solicitor, desired me to inform the world of another thing, which he had expressly mentioned to them, viz. that instead of exciting him to, she had dissuaded him from entering into the late wicked and horrid rebellion."

On Monday the 11th of August, General Williamson desired me (says Mr. Foster), to let Lord Kilmarnock know, that he had received the order for his and Balmerino's execution.

Lord Kilmarnock received this news with the outward behaviour of a man that knew and felt the importance of the scene of death; but without any marks of disorder, without unbecoming anxiousness or terror. And, to establish and support him in his quietude, I told him, That all mankind were really under sentence of death, tho' they knew not the manner or precise time; and that they not having timely and certain notice of it, might die wholly unprepared, while he had warning, and the most awakening motives, to fit himself, in the best manner possible, for this grand and decisive event. He said, That he had never been a libertine in principle, during all the time that he was most inconsiderate and licentious in his conduct; that he had always firmly believed the great truths of God's being and providence, and a future state of rewards and punishments for virtue and vice; and that he had not been involved in the fashionable

shionable scepticism of the times with respect to Christianity; that he was therefore naturally concerned, and chiefly concerned about the consequences of death, in comparison of which he thought the thing itself a trifle; that as to the particular manner of his death, he had no great reason to be terrified, for that stroke appeared to be scarce so much as the pain of drawing a tooth, or the first shock of the cold bath upon a weak and fearful temper.

We come now to take a view of the preparations on Tower-hill. At six o'clock, a troop of life-guards, a troop of horse grenadeer guards, and 1000 of the foot-guards, (being fifteen out of each company), marched from the parade in St. James's park thro' the city to Tower-hill; and there threw themselves into the form of a battledore, the round part inclosing the scaffold, and the handle, formed by two lines, extending to the tower-gate, with a proper space between for the procession to pass. About eight o'clock the Sheriffs of London, their Under-Sheriffs, and their officers, *viz.* six Serjeants at Mace, six Yeomen, and the executioner, met at Mitre tavern in Fenchurch street. Here they breakfasted, and then went to the house formerly the transport office, hired by them for the reception of the Lords before they should be conducted to the scaffold, which was about thirty yards distant from it. At ten o'clock the block was fixed, covered with black cloth, and several sacks of saw-dust were provided, to strew on the scaffold. Soon after, the two coffins were brought covered with black cloth, ornamented with gilt nails, &c. On Kilmarnock's there was a plate, with this inscription, GULIELMUS COMES DE KILMARNOCK DECOLLATUS 18 AUGUSTI 1746 ÆTAT. SUE 42, with an Earl's coronet over it, and six coronets over the six handles; and on Balmerino's there was a plate with this inscription, ARTHURUS DOMINUS DE BALMERINO DECOLLATUS 18 AUGUSTI 1746 ÆTAT. SUE 58, with a Baron's coronet over it, and six others over the six handles.

About



About a quarter after ten, the Sheriffs went in procession to the tower; and after knocking some time at the gate a Warder within asked, *Who's there?* The officer answered, *The Sheriffs of London and Middlesex.* The Warder then asked, *What do they want?* The officer answered, *The bodies of William Earl of Kilmarnock and Arthur Lord Balmerino.* Upon which the Warder said, *I will go and inform the Lieutenant of the tower* — Mr. Foster tells, that when General Williamson informed Kilmarnock, That the Sheriffs waited for the prisoners, his Lordship was not in the least startled, but said, (calmly and gracefully), *General, I am ready; I'll follow you;* and adds, that, “at the foot of the first stairs he met and embraced Lord Balmerino; who greatly said to him, *My Lord, I am heartily sorry to have your company in this expedition.*” — In about ten minutes after the Warder had gone to give notice of the demand made by the Sheriffs, the Deputy-Lieutenant of the tower with the Earl of Kilmarnock, and Major White with Lord Balmerino, guarded by several Warders, came to the gate; where the prisoners were delivered to the Sheriffs; who gave proper receipts for their bodies to the Deputy-Lieutenants. As they were going out of the tower, the Deputy-Lieutenant, as was usual, said, *God bless King George.* On which Kilmarnock made a bow, and Balmerino said, *God bless King James.* The procession moved in a slow and solemn manner, in the following order. 1. The Constable of the Tower-hamlets. 2. The Knight-Marshal's men and Tipstaves. 3. The Sheriffs officers. 4. The Sheriffs, the prisoners, and their chaplains; Mr. Sheriff Blachford walking with Kilmarnock, who was attended by Mr. Foster and Mr. Home; and Mr. Sheriff Cockayne walking with Balmerino, who was attended by the chaplain of the tower and another Minister. 5. The Tower Warders. 6. A guard of musketeers. 7. Two hearses, and a mourning-coach. When the procession had passed thro' the lines into the area of the circle, the passage was closed, and the troops of horse, who were in the rear of the foot on the lines, wheeled off, and drew

drew up five deep behind the foot, on the South-side of the hill, facing the scaffold.

The two Lords were conducted into separate apartments in the house above mentioned, facing the steps of the scaffold; and their friends were admitted to see them. That house, and the rails round the scaffold, and on each side of the passage leading to it from the house, were all hung with black at the Sheriffs expense.

About eleven o'clock, Kilmarnock received a message from Balmerino, desiring an interview with his Lordship, which being consented to, Balmerino was introduced into Kilmarnock's apartment. Mr. Foster related the whole substance of that conversation, as he could recollect, in the very words, thus.

*B.* My Lord, I beg leave to ask your Lordship one question.

*K.* To any question, my Lord, that you shall now think proper to ask, I believe I shall see no reason to decline giving an answer.

*B.* Why then my Lord, did you ever see or know of any order, signed by the Prince, (meaning the Pretender's Son), to give no quarter at the battle of Culloden?

*K.* No, my Lord.

*B.* Nor I neither: and therefore it seems to be an invention to justify their own murder, or murderous scheme. (One of the two expressions, I am certain, was made use of).

*K.* No, my Lord, I do not think that this inference can be drawn from it; because, while I was a prisoner at Inverness, I was informed by several officers, that there was such an order, signed George Murray; and that it was in the Duke's custody.

Lord George Murray! replied Lord Balmerino; why, then, they should not charge it upon the Prince. After this he took his leave, embracing Lord Kilmarnock with the same kind of a noble and generous compliment as he had used before, but in words somewhat different:

*My dear Lord Kilmarnock, I am only sorry that I cannot*

*not*

*not pay all this reckoning alone. Once more farewell for ever."*

"I then desired Lord Kilmarnock, (continued Mr. Foster), that he would allow me to declare in his name to the Sheriffs and all persons present, the substance of the professions and acknowledgments which he had so often repeated to me; and which were more largely contained in a paper that he had left to be published after his death: and my declaration was in words to this effect, Lord Kilmarnock acknowledges King George to be the only rightful and lawful King of these realms; that he engaged in the late wicked and unnatural rebellion against his conscience; he confesses the great guilt of it with deep shame and contrition, and asks pardon for his offence, of God, his King, and country; and declares it to be his sincere resolution to pray for the prosperity of King George, the establishment of his Royal house, and the peace and welfare of his country, with his dying breath. To this the unfortunate Lord gave his assent, and signified to the Sheriffs, that the only genuine paper that he left behind him, was lodged with me, and committed to my care. The time being then pretty far advanced, (as I hinted to his Lordship by the Sheriffs desire), I told him, that after having taken a few minutes to compose himself, I thought it would be proper to allow me to pray with him, and then proceed to the scaffold. After this I addressed myself to the spectators of this mournful scene; to join with me fervently in this last solemn office, and in recommending the soul of an unhappy person, who gave so many lively marks of his sincere penitence for the crime of his rebellion, to the mercy of God; with which request they all readily complied.

After prayer was ended, Lord Kilmarnock took his last farewell of the Gentlemen that attended him, in a very affectionate manner; and went out of the room, preceded by the Sheriffs, and accompanied by his friends. And I am informed by Mr. Home, that as he was stepping into the scaffold, notwithstanding the great pains he had taken



taken to familiarise the outward *apparatus* of death to his mind, nature still recurred upon him: so that being struck with such a variety of dreadful objects at once, the multitude, the block, his coffin, the executioner, the instrument of death, he turned about, and said, *Hame, this is terrible.* This expression so suitable to the awful occasion, must, to all who know the human heart, appear to be nothing else than the language of nature; and was far from being a mark of unmanly fear, being pronounced with a steady countenance, and firmness of voice, indications of a mind unbroken and not disconcerted. His whole behaviour was so humble and resigned, that not only his friends, but every spectator, was deeply moved; even the executioner burst into tears, and was obliged to use artificial spirits to strengthen him. After having talked with his Lordship a considerable time, to support him in his penitence and resignation, I embraced, and left him in the same calm disposition, having quitted the scaffold some minutes before his execution. And as to his behaviour afterwards, I refer to the following account, which was communicated to me by Mr. Jamieson who attended him to the last.

Spectators at a distance, not knowing the true cause why the stroke was retarded for some minutes longer than they expected, ascribed it to pusillanimity: but, in reality, the delay was owing to a few trivial circumstances, which might have been omitted, had it not been necessary to mention them, in order to vindicate the behaviour of that Noble penitent, which was uniformly conducted by the rules of just decorum, from all imputation of unmanly fear in the critical moment.—My Lord's hair having been dressed in a bag, it took some time to undo it, and put it up in his cap, (which was made of a damask napkin). The tucking his shirt under the waistcoat, that it might not obstruct the blow, was the occasion of some further small delay. But as soon as these preliminaries were adjusted, his Lordship gave the executioner notice what would be the signal, (dropping a handkerchief), took out a paper containing the

heads of his devotion, went forward to his last stage, and decently knelt down at the block. Whether it was to support himself, or as a more convenient posture for devotion, he happened to lay his hands with his head upon the block; which the executioner observing, prayed his Lordship to let his hands fall down lest they should be mangled, or break the blow. Then he was told that the neck of his waistcoat was in the way; upon which he rose up, and with the help of one of his friends (Mr. Walkinshaw of Scotstoun) had it taken off. This done, and the neck made bare to the shoulder, he again knelt down as before, and what sufficiently shews, that he enjoyed full presence of mind to the last, Mr. Home's servant, who held the cloth to receive the head, heard him direct the executioner, that in two minutes he would give the signal. That dreadful interval, to his friends, who were then upon the rack, appeared much longer; but those who measured, found it just about two minutes. This time he spent in most fervent devotion; as appeared by the motion of his hands, and now and then of his head. Having then fixed his neck on the block, he gave the signal. His body remained without the least motion, except what was given it by the stroke of death; which he received full, and was thereby happily eased at once of all his pain."

It was near twelve o'clock when the Earl of Kilmarnock came upon the scaffold. His Lordship was dressed in black, and there was a cushion at the block, on which he knelt down. The black bays which hung round the rails of the scaffold, were turned up, that the people might see all the circumstances of the executions. One blow severed the head from the body, except a small bit of skin; which being immediately cut by a gentle stroke, the head dropt into a piece of red bays, held up by four persons to receive it; and was, with the body, deposited in the coffin, delivered to his friends, and put into the hearth. The scaffold was then cleaned of the blood, fresh saw-dust strewed, and, that no appearance of a former execution might remain, the executioner, who was dressed

dressed in white, changed such of his cloaths as were bloody.

An account of the behaviour of these two Lords was published by authority of the Sheriffs, August 26. three days before Mr. Foster's, as taken down by Mr. Ford, who officiated for one of the two Under-Sheriffs at the execution. As to Kilmarnock, we need add only the substance of what is said by Mr. Ford, *viz.* That his Lordship seemed truly sensible of his guilt, and shewed the utmost signs of a sincere repentance; that he declared himself a Protestant, and thoroughly satisfied with the legality of King George's title to the throne; that he refreshed himself twice with a bit of bread and a glass of wine; that upon Balmerino's wishing he could suffer for both, he replied, it was exceedingly kind and generous in his Lordship; that when he ascended the scaffold, it was easily to be observed what impression his graceful deportment made upon the spectators; that he gave the executioner a purse of gold (five guineas), and desired him to have courage; and that a Gentleman, when adjusting his cap before he knelt down at the block, having wished the continuance of his resolution till he should meet with eternal happiness, his Lordship thanked him, and with great tranquillity added, that he found himself perfectly easy and resigned.

We now give an account of Balmerino's behaviour, as related by Mr. Ford.

' When the scaffold was put in order, the Under-Sheriff that attended the first execution, went to Balmerino's apartments, as a notice to his Lordship that his time was come. Upon whose entrance, Balmerino said, *I suppose my Lord Kilmarnock is no more;* and having asked how the executioner had performed his duty, said, upon receiving the account, *Then it was well done. And now, Gentlemen, I will detain you no longer: for I desire not to protract my life.* His Lordship then saluted the company, in a manner so chearful, as drew tears from every eye but his own, and hastened to the scaffold.



But before we view his Lordship upon the scaffold, it is but just to the memory of that great, but unhappy man, to acquaint the publick what was his deportment in his retirement here. It was graceful without affectation, chearful but not presumptuous; he conversed freely with his friends, twice refreshed himself with a bit of bread and a glass of wine, and desired the company to drink to him *ain de grae ta haiven*, but, above all, he called frequently upon God, and seemed both willing and prepared to die.

When his Lordship mounted the scaffold, he did it with so undaunted a step as surpris'd every spectator that was unacquainted with the greatness of his soul. He appeared there in the very same regimentals he wore at the battle of Culloden, (a blue coat turned up with red, with brass buttons, and a tie wig). And so far was he from having the least concern himself at the approach of death, that he frequently reproved his friends that were about him for shewing any. He walked round the scaffold, bowed to the people, (called up the Warder, and gave him some money; asked which was his hearse, and ordered the man to drive near), read the inscription on his coffin, said it was right, and with seeming pleasure looked at the block, which he called his *pillow of rest*.

His Lordship then took a paper out of his pocket; which (having put on his spectacles) he read to the few about him, and delivered to the Sheriff to do with it as he should think proper.

Whatever may be offered in excuse for his Lordship's making that speech in his last moments, nothing but the highest authority can justify the publishing it.

His Lordship to the last professed his entire ignorance as to the order for giving no quarter to the Duke's army; and added, *that he would not (knowingly) have acted under such order, because he looked upon it as unmilitary, and beneath the character of a soldier.*

Nor it is to be here omitted, that tho' his Lordship, from his unhappy political principles, disowned any allegiance to his Majesty; yet he, from his moral ones, acknowledged

knowledged him to be a prince of the greatest magnanimity and mercy.

His Lordship then called for the executioner; who being introduced to him, was about to ask forgiveness. But my Lord stopt him, and said, *Friend, you need not ask me forgiveness; the execution of your duty is commendable.* His Lordship then presenting the executioner with three guineas, said, *Friend, I never had much money; this is all I have; I wish it was more for your sake; and am sorry I can add nothing else to it, but my coat and waistcoat;* which his Lordship instantly took off, and placed on his coffin for the executioner.

His Lordship then prepared himself for the block, by putting on a flannel waistcoat that had been made for the occasion, and a plaid cap upon his head, (saying, he died a Scotsman). After which he went to the block, in order to shew the executioner the signal for the blow; which was, the dropping down of his arms.

His Lordship then returning to his friends, took his last farewell of them; and having once more taken a view of the great number of spectators, he said, *I am afraid there are some who may think my behaviour bold; and,* speaking to a Gentleman near him, added, *Remember, Sir, what I tell you; it arises from a confidence in God, and a clear conscience.*

His Lordship then observing the executioner with the ax in his hand, took it from him, and having felt the edge, returned it him again; at the same time shewing him where to strike the blow, and animating him to do it with resolution; *for in that, Friend,* (said his Lordship) *will consist your mercy.*

His Lordship then, with the same surprising countenance, knelt down at the block, and having with his arms extended said this short prayer, *O Lord, reward my friends, forgive my enemies, \* \* \* \* \** and receive my soul, submitted, and gave the signal to the executioner. And I wish I could conclude, that his head had been taken off at one blow: but the executioner was so terrified at his Lordship's intrepidity, and the suddenness of the signal, that notwithstanding he struck in

the part directed, yet the force of the blow was not sufficient to sever the head from the body, tho' (happily) sufficient to deprive him of all sensation. After the first blow, his Lordship's, head fell back upon his shoulders; but being afterwards severed at two more gentle blows, was then received into a piece of red bays, and, with his body, deposited in his coffin, and delivered to his friends."

The bodies having been carried to the tower in two hearses were interred in the evening, agreeably to their own request, close to the Marquis of Tullibardine's, in St. Peter's church.

According to other accounts, the first blow struck Lord Balmerino partly on his shoulders, the second went about two thirds thro' his neck, on which the body fell down; and being immediately raised, a third severed the head from the body.

As Mr. Ford's is the only authentick account of this Lord's behaviour, we know little of what passed between his Lordship and the divines that attended him while under sentence; only it appears that Lord Kilmarnock knew of his perseverance in his mistaken principles. Some news-writers give him the following character. "If we wereto draw the character of Arthur Lord Balmerino, abstracting from the consideration of his being an enemy to the present happy government, we should call him a blunt resolute man, who would, if his principles had not been tainted with Jacobitism, have appeared honest in the eyes of those who love sincerity; but he was not so happy as to be loyal. His person was very plain, his shape clumsy, but his make strong, and he had no marks about him of the polite Gentleman; tho' his seeming sincerity recompensed all those defects. He was illiterate in respect to his birth, but rather from a total want of application to letters than want of ability. When he came upon the scaffold, tho' he behaved with what some may account a blameable intrepidity, yet it was not with indecency, or any shew of prophaneness or irreligion,"

The author of *Observations* on the two accounts, gives the following characters of the Lords and their historians.



" I cannot help thinking, that these accounts very much resemble the Lords who suffered. The first of them is hasty, vehement and full of fire, like its hero, the Lord Balmerino; the second is calm, gentle and full of moderation, like its subject, the Earl of Kilmarnock: and if those unfortunate Noblemen may be allowed to have been lucky in any accident whatever, attending so melancholy a catastrophe as theirs, I think it was in having two such historians to commemorate their dying behaviour, as the zealous F—d, and the accurate Mr. F—r. —Both their deaths were consistent enough with their characters, tho' opposite to each other; as indeed their characters were. But, of the two, surely the Earl of Kilmarnock had the hardest and most difficult task. His temper was susceptible of more tenderness; his crime was the effect of a sudden gust of temporary views, of which he was ashamed long before he was in danger; he trembled amidst the inconsiderable advantages gained by the rebels, and was all along under this dreadful and affecting conviction, that his own safety and that of his country were incompatible. These wounds in his conscience, and a very rational, perhaps salutary diffidence in his repentance, made death not only serious, but dreadful to him: yet he faced it. The roughness of Balmerino's nature prevented his feeling, and his military course of life had reconciled him to the sight of death. There remained therefore nothing here that could fright him. As to hereafter, the prejudices of education set him at ease. To him neither the thing nor the circumstances were terrible: momentary pain seemed a small price to pay for eternal rest. Upon these different motives, both (to the eyes of men) died well. Kilmarnock received Death as a stranger with whom he would willingly have deferred his acquaintance; but Balmerino met him as a friend, whom having long expected, he was glad to see. As philosophers we may be allowed to regard things in this light; as good subjects we are bound to approve that justice which guards our safety; as men and Christians we ought to have compassion, and may well think

think ourselves free to pity the frailty of the one, and wonder at the obstinacy of the other."

Lord Kilmarnock was married to Lady Anne Livingston, daughter and heiress of James Earl of Linlithgow and Callender, who was attainted in 1716, and died abroad. Her Ladyship was likewise presumptive heiress of the Earldom of Errol. There is issue of the marriage; Lord Boyd, the eldest, who was a subaltern in the Scots fusileers at the battle of Culloden, and is since promoted; Charles, the second, who was likewise in that battle, but on the other side, with his father, and made his escape; and a third son, who was at sea, with Commodore Barnet.

Arthur Lord Balmerino never enjoyed the estate, it having devolved to him only in the beginning of January 1746, by the death of his brother. In 1715 he was a Captain in Shannon's foot, and went over to the rebels, after the battle of Sheriffmuir. After that rebellion, he lived abroad till about the year 1734; when having got a pardon, he returned home, and has lived since in a private manner. The report of his having been pardoned for a duel, is a mistake: it was a brother of his. Lady Balmerino went to London soon after her Lord, and waited upon him in the tower. His Lordship left no issue.

*The case of Charles Ratcliffe, Esq;*

**T**HIS Gentleman was brother to the late Earl of Dernwentwater, was convicted of high treason for the rebellion in 1715, but escaped out of Newgate. He was re-taken in Nov. 1745, on board the *Esperance*, with several other French officers, coming to Scotland; and committed prisoner in the tower of London. On the 21st of November 1746 he was brought to the the King's bench bar, and his former judgment was read to him. He said he was quite unprepared; and at his request the court assigned him council, Mess. Joddrell and Ford. On the 24th he was again brought to the bar. But he refused to hold up his hand, or acknowledge any jurisdiction, but that of the King of France, in whose dominions he had lived about thirty years, and whose commission he had in his pocket; for the authenticity of which

which he appealed to the Sicilian Ambassador, in court. On hearing his former indictment and conviction read, he said he was not *Charles Ratcliffe*, but *the Earl of Derwentwater*; and his council informed the court, that this was the plea he relied on. Mr. Attorney-General replied with an averment of his being the Charles Ratcliffe named in the former indictment, &c.; and thereupon issue was joined. Then the council for the prisoner moved to put off his trial, upon his own affidavit (to which he had subscribed himself *The Count of Derwentwater*) that two of his material witnesses were abroad. To which affidavit the council for the crown objected, as not being entitled in the cause before the court, nor the witnesses sworn to be material in the issue then joined; and also because the prisoner had not undertaken to swear that he was not the person, which, as it was a fact entirely in his own knowledge, ought to be required of him, if he would intitle himself to this favour from the court; this being a proceeding very different from the trial upon a Not guilty in an original prosecution, the identity of the person being the single fact to be inquired of, and a case in which the crown had a right by law to proceed in *instante*. Upon this, the prisoner amended his affidavit as to the witnesses, but refused to swear that he was not the same person. And the court said, there was no instance of any application to put off the trial of a question of this sort before; and that this was like an inquest of office, in order to inform the conscience of the court, and what the publick had a right to proceed in *instante*; and therefore that the prisoner ought to give all reasonable satisfaction to induce them to grant such a favour as he desired; for that they could not in conscience, and justice to the publick indulge him, without a reasonable satisfaction that his plea was true. But the prisoner still refusing to swear to the truth of his plea, the jury were called; and after two or three of the pannel were sworn, Mr. Ratcliffe challenged the next that was called, as of right without assigning any reason. But upon debate of the question, How far he had right to challenge? the court



court said, it had been determined before in all the later cases, and particularly in the case of one Jordan, that the prisoner in such a case as this had no peremptory challenge. Upon which the rest of the jury were sworn. Several witnesses were called to prove the prisoner the identical person Charles Ratcliffe, who received sentence in 1716. But none of them could come up to the point, till a great officer was sworn, who deposed, that Mr. Ratcliffe, since his confinement in the tower, had acknowledged to him, when they had been drinking a glass of wine together, that he was the same person. But Mr. Ratcliffe objected to this Gentleman's testimony; because he had confessed that he believed there was neither God nor devil; and it would be an absurdity, to swear a man upon the Bible, who had no faith in any thing it contained. This however was over-ruled; and no other defence being made, the jury withdrew, and in about ten minutes brought in their verdict. That he was the same Charles Ratcliffe that was convicted of treason in 1716. Then the Attorney-General moved to have execution awarded against the pannel on his former judgment. To which the prisoner's council objected, tendering a plea of pardon by act of parliament, in bar of execution. But the court said, as he had already pleaded such a plea as he chose to rely on, and as that was found against him, nothing more remained for them to do at that time, but to award execution; and if his council had any thing to offer on his behalf, they would have time to do it before the day of execution. Then they ordered a rule to be made for the proper writs for his execution on December 8th and remanded the prisoner to the tower. It was said, that he refused to call the Chief Justice *Lord*, because the title of *Earl* was not given to him; that, upon refusing to hold up his hand at the bar, the Attorney-General told him, that as a Gentleman he ought to comply, and his council would satisfy him, it was only a form of the court; that he answered, *I know many things that I will not advise my council upon*; and that, on hearing the day appointed for his execution, he told the court, that he

wished

wished they had given him so long time as that he could have wrote to France, that so his brother the Earl of Morton and he might have set out on, their journey together.

Accordingly he was beheaded on Tower-hill December 8.——About eight o'clock in the morning, two troops of life-guards, and one troop of horse grenadeerguards marched thro' the city to little Tower hill, where they were joined by a battalion of foot-guards. The horse lined the way from the scaffold to Iron-gate, and the foot with some of the horse incompassed the scaffold. About ten, the block, covered with black, with a cushion, and two sacks full of saw dust, were brought up, and the block fixed. Soon after, the coffin was placed on the scaffold. It was covered with black velvet; the inside lead, lined with white sattin; and had eight handles, which with the nails were gilt with gold; but there was no plate or inscription upon it. A little before eleven, the Sheriffs, Mess. Alderman Winterbottom and Alsop, came to see if the scaffold, &c. was finished; (the carpenters, &c. who had very short notice, having worked all Sunday and the ensuing night), and found it to their satisfaction. The Sheriffs and the Under-Sheriffs had met at the Mitre tavern in Fenchurch street, and from thence proceeded, the Under-Sheriffs in a mourning-coach, and the Sheriffs in their chariots, to the lower end of the Minories; where they were met by their officers; who marched before them till they came over against the Victualling-office. Here they stopt, and the Under-Sheriffs went down to the East-gate of the tower, which is next to the Iorngate; where getting out of the coach they went up to the gate; and seeing the warders thro' the gate, they demanded admittance to the Lieutenant-Governor. On this the gate being opened they went in, and demanded Mr. Ratcliffe's body of General Williamson. Upon being surrendered, he was put into a landau, and carried out at the East-gate; where the Under-Sheriffs went again into their coach, and the procession was as follows. First, the Sheriffs officers; next the mourning-coach in which were

were the two Under-Sheriffs with their wands; then the landau with the prisoner, and the officers of the tower who had him in custody; and the landau guarded by a party of foot guards with their bayonets fixed. Thus they proceeded up Little Tower-hill, till they came over-against the Victualling-office, where the Sheriffs waited to receive him. Here the prisoner being taken out of the landau, in order to be put into a mourning-coach, and seeing some Gentlemen he knew, he paid his compliments to them in a very genteel manner, and smiled. He was carried, in the mourning-coach, about a hundred yards further, to a small booth built on purpose, and hung with black, joining to the stairs of the scaffold. Having reposed himself here about half an hour, which he spent in his devotions, speaking but very little to any body, he then came upon the scaffold, preceeded by the Sheriffs, the divine, and some Gentlemen his friends. He was dressed in scarlet, faced with black velvet, trimmed with gold, a gold-laced waistcoat, white silk stockings, and a white feather in his hat. On the scaffold he took leave of his friends with great serenity and calmness of mind, and, after speaking a few words, and giving a parcel of gold which he called ten guineas, to the executioner, knelt down to prayers, all the company on the scaffold kneeling with him. When prayers were ended, which lasted about seven minutes, he took off his hat and wig, put on a damask cap, pulled off his coat and waistcoat, assisted by the tower-warders, put his head to the block, and rose up again. He then took his leave in a respectful manner of the Sheriffs, had the collar of his shirt tucked down said a short prayer, crossing himself several times, and laid his head down upon the block. In about two minutes he spread his hands, which was the signal, and the executioner struck off his head at three blows. The first cut all except a bit of the skin, which was cut at two strokes more. Four undertaker-men stood ready with a piece of red bays, to receive the head; and the body fell down. He behaved with the greatest fortitude, and coolness of temper.



per. On searching his pockets, the executioner found half a guinea, a silver crucifix, and his beads. Instead of ten guineas, he had got eleven and a half out of Mr. Ratcliffe's hand. The corpse, head and body, was put into the coffin, taken away in a hearse, and kept till the 11th; when between 11 and 12 at night, it was carried in a hearse, attended by two mourning coaches, to St. Giles's in the Fields, and there interred, according to his desire, near the remains of the late Earl of Derwentwater. The following inscription was put upon his coffin: CAROLUS RATCLIFFE, GOMES DE DERWENTWATER, DECOLLATUS DIE 8. DECEMBRIS 1746. ÆTATIS 53. REQUIESCAT IN PACE.

This unfortunate Gentleman was brother to James Earl of Derwentwater, beheaded on Tower hill February 24. 1715-16, both Sons of Sir Robert Ratcliffe by Lady Mary Tudor, natural Daughter of King Charles II, by Mrs. Mary Davis. Charles having likewise been in the rebellion in 1715, was arraigned at the Exchequer-bar, Westminster, May 8. 1716, for high treason, found guilty May 18. and condemned. But, after being several times respited, he made his escape out of Newgate on the 11th of December following, and got over to France; where he spent the greatest part of his time after, tho' he was some part of it with the Pretender in Italy. At Paris he married Lady Newburgh, relict of Livingston Lord Newburgh a Scots Nobleman; by whom he has left a son, who was taken prisoner with him, and was at first thought to be the Pretender's second son; but returned afterwards to France, upon parole. It was said, that, in 1733 and 1735, Mr. Ratcliffe was several months in London, without being taken any notice of, tho' the ministry knew of it.

The carpenters having worked on Sunday in erecting the scaffold, &c. gave occasion to the following letter, signed CHRISTIANUS. "I find, in *Numbers*, xv. 32. —37. a man stoned to death by God's own appointment for gathering sticks on the sabbath day; and I thought the moral law had been of eternal obligation; and therefore am scandalized at this unnecessary working on a

Sunday. Pray resolve me, if you can, which is the greater sin, to let a condemned rebel live a day or two longer, or to break the sabbath? or what could be the meaning of this practice, unless some people had a mind to convince the world, (which was quite needless), that they never do any thing, but in a hurry, and without deliberation?"

We shall now give an account of the issue of the most remarkable of the other trials.

On the 31st of July, 1746 the court met at St. Margaret's hill for the trial of the Scots rebel-officers taken at Carlisle, when the following persons were tried, viz: James Nicolson master of a Coffee-house in Leith, a Lieutenant in Perth's regiment, Donald Macdonald of Invernesshire a Captain in Keppoch's regiment, Alexander Mackgrouther senior of Perthshire a Lieutenant in Perth's regiment, James Straton, Surgeon of the garrison of Carlisle, and Walter Ogilvie of Banffshire a Lieutenant in Lord Lewis Gordon's regiment. The two first pleaded Guilty, Alexander Mackgrouther was tried and found guilty, James Straton was acquitted, and Walter Ogilvy pleaded Guilty.—Then the Lord Chief Justice Willes, having made a pathetic speech, pronounced sentence as p. 292 on James Nicolson, Donald Mackdonald, Alexander Mackgrouther senior, and Walter Ogilvy. The court then adjourned till the 23d of August.

On the 19th of August the dead warrant came to the goal, for their execution the 22d.: but Mackgrouther got a reprieve for three weeks on the 21st: the other three were executed on Kennington common in the same manner as the other nine p. 300

*August 23.* The grand Jury found bills against Sir John Wedderburn, a voluntier in Ogilvy's regiment, (or the life-guards), Collector of Excise for the Pretender; Lieutenant Colonel Sir James Kinloch, Major Nicolas Glascope, (who raised the battery against the Hazard sloop, and took her), Captains Alexander and Charles Kinlochs, brothers to Sir James, and Ensign Thomas Watton, all of Ogilvy's second battalion; Colonel Francis Farquarson; Colonel Henry Ker of Gradyne,  
Aid

Aid de camp to the Pretender; Majors Alexander Mac-  
lauchlan and James Rattary, of Tullibardine's regiment;  
Major James Stewart, of Perth's; Captain John Far-  
quharson, of Farquharson's; Captain Andrew Wood  
of Roy Stewart's; Captain Allan Cameron, of Lochail's,  
Ensign James Lindsay, shoemaker in Perth, of Strath-  
allan's; James Bradshaw, first a Captain in the Man-  
chester regiment, and afterwards a life-guard man;  
Captains Roderick Macculloch, of Glastulich, and Colin  
Mackenzie, Lieutenant Rodrick Mackenzie, and Ensign  
Hector Mackenzie, all of Cromertie's regiment; John  
Mackenzie, commonly called Lord Macleod, the Earl  
of Cromertie's son; and William Murray of Taymont,  
brother to the Earl of Dunmore. But the two last were  
not brought to the bar.

*September 2.* Eighteen of the twenty brought to the  
bar, were arraigned, and pleaded Not guilty. Sir  
James Kinloch and Roderick Macculloch, the other two  
were sick.

*October 13.* Sir James Kinloch and Roderick Mac-  
culloch were arraigned, and pleaded Guilty.—Bills  
were found against Captains Andrew Spruel, of Pittligo's  
regiment, and Alexander Buchanan, of Perth's.

—22 Governor John Hamilton retracted his former  
plea, and pleaded Guilty.—George Abernethy, an of-  
ficer in Glenbucket's regiment, was found Guilty, but  
recommended to mercy. One of the evidences for the  
King swore, That the prisoner was President of a court  
martial in Carlisle, at which two officers were broke;  
another that he saw the prisoner set fire to a cannon  
planted on the walls of Carlisle, and pointed at the  
Duke's army: and others, That the prisoner acted as  
Commissary of stores at Carlisle, and bills and receipts  
signed by him as such, were produced. On the other  
hand, the prisoner pleaded, That he had been of singu-  
lar service to his Majesty on the present occasion. The  
first witness called for him was General Cope; who be-  
ing asked if he knew the prisoner; answered, No: but  
desired that this might not prejudice him, because the  
march having been quick, and his Excellency having



seen a great many people, he could not possibly remember every face. The General was then asked, if he was at Banff, and what assistance he got there? and answered, That he was there; that he was furnished with a number of carriages and horses by the magistrate, and that possibly the prisoner might be the man that was active in that service. Witnesses were then brought to prove the prisoner to have been the only acting magistrate at that time, the Provost and the other two Bailies having been sick or absent. Further, another witness swore, That one Captain Rogers, who was at Banff upon extraordinary business some days before the General, and wanted horses, was furnished by the prisoner; who likewise directed him to go a road different from that he was ordered, to prevent his falling into the rebels hands. Two or three witnesses swore, That upon the rebels coming into Banff, and receiving intelligence how active the prisoner had been in his Majesty's service, they plundered his house, took him prisoner, kept him so while they staid in town, and then carried him off as a prisoner upon a horse without a saddle. A shopkeeper of Carlisle swore, That some of the rebel army having done him considerable damage, he applied to the prisoner and got a guard from him, which prevented any further mischief. A Captain of foot, who was prisoner with the rebels at Carlisle, swore, That, the prisoner conversed frequently with him alone, always acquainted him with the result of the councils of war, and often said, that he wished the town was delivered up to the Duke, for most of the Scots were for it, but that the English opposed it; that on this the witness advised him to get as many names as he could to an instrument for delivering up the town, and to send it to the Duke; and that the prisoner was one of the persons who went to the Duke about surrendering the place.—Bills were found against Mr. George Law, a non-jurant clergyman, and Adam Hay, of Aberdeenshire, Writer in Edinburgh.

—23 *John Burnet*, a captain of the rebel artillery, was found guilty.—*Lieutenant Charles Gordon*,  
of

of Ogilvy's regiment, (whose father is a Bailie of regality under the Duke of Gordon, and well affected), was found Guilty, but recommended to mercy on account of his youth.

—24. Captain *Robert Forbes*, of Lord Lewis Gordon's regiment, (a tenant of the Duke of Gordon's), was acquitted; it appeared that he was forced from his family, and frequently, while at Carlisle, attempted to escape over the walls in women's cloaths, but was prevented by the guard.—Lieutenant *James Gordon*, of the artillery, (son of Charles Gordon, tenant to the Duke of Gordon,) aged about sixteen-years was found Guilty.

—25. Captain *Alexander Leith*, of Glenbucket's regiment, and Ensigns *Walter Mitchell*, of Perth's, and *George Ramsay*, of Glenbucket's, (or Perth's), were found Guilty.—Colonel *Francis Farquharson* and Major *James Stewart* retracted, and pleaded Guilty.

—27. *James Bradshaw* was found Guilty. He was apprentice at a Manchester warehouse in London six years, and then settled at Manchester in the check trade. He was a Captain in the Manchester regiment, and marched with the rebels from Manchester to Derby, and back to Carlisle. Not chusing to stay there with the regiment, because of a difference between him and Colonel Townly he went with the rebel-army into Scotland, entered into the lifeguards under Lord Elcho, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Culloden. It was proved in his defence, That during the greatest part of his apprenticeship, and since he was settled at Manchester, which was about six years ago, he did several things like acts of lunacy; such as, getting out of bed in the night, doing himself damage, and abusing his comrade; upon which he was fastened down in his bed with straps. But the witnesses being asked, Whether they did not believe this was done on account of his being subject to walking in his sleep? they answered in the affirmative.

—28. Ensign *James Lindsay*, of Strathallan's horse, shoemaker in Perth, was found Guilty.—Captains *Alexander* and *Charles Kinlocks* were next brought to

the bar; and a point of law having been started for them, *viz.* Whether natives of Scotland, resident in Scotland, and taken in Scotland, could, without a breach of the union, be tried in England for acts of treason committed in Scotland? the court adjourned.

—29. The above question having been argued by Mr. Attorney General for the crown, and by Mr. Gordon and Mr. Joddrell for the prisoners, it was over-ruled, on the late act, and the prisoners were both found Guilty. Captain *Andrew Wood* was found Guilty.

—31. Major *James Rattray* of Ruynaguillan, brother-in-law to Sir James Kinloch was acquitted.

*November 1.* Captain *Allan Cameron* was found Guilty. It was deposed in his defence, That he was forced from his family, a wife and ten children, by Lochiel, to whom he was a tennant. But it was proved by the evidences for the crown, That he marched as a Captain in Lochiel's regiment from Scotland to Carlisle and Derby, and back again to Scotland, without any constraint; and that he was at the battle of Culloden, and wounded in it. It appeared by the evidence for the crown, that he behaved with great humanity and candour, and that at Edinburgh he prevented one of the King's officers from being murdered by the rebels. — Sir *John Wedderburn* was brought to the bar. The pannel of the jury were called over, and ten were sworn. But there being a great many absent, and the prisoner having challenged thirty, there was not a sufficient number to make a jury. Thereupon the court fined several of the absents in 10l. each, and three of the Sheriff's officers in 5l. each for none-attendance.

—3. Sir *John Wedderburn* was found Guilty. He brought witnesses to prove, That the rebels, during the time he was proven to have been among them, had taken him four times from his own house by force, and that the greatest part of that time he was at his own house. But twelve receipts, signed *JOHN WEDDERBURN*, for excise collected at Perth, Dundee, &c. were produced, and proved to be his hand writing; and some witnesses swore to their having paid him excise themselves.



selves. It was also proved, that he owned himself a volunteer in Ogilvy's second battalion.

—6. Colonel *Henry Ker* was found Guilty. His council alledged, that he was an officer in the Spanish service; but soon gave up that point. It appeared that he was very active in the rebellion; that it was he that took Captain Vere, (taken December 2. within three miles of the Duke's army, then at Newcastle-under-line; called their principal spy, in the rebel-journal published at Glasgow; and harshly treated); and that he endeavoured to rally the rebels at Culloden after they were broke—Major *Alexander Macclauchlan* was found Guilty, but recommended to mercy.

—7. Lieutenant *Thomas Watson*, of Ogilvy's regiment, tobaccoist in Perth, was found Guilty.—Ensign *Hector Mackenzie*, a tenant of Cromertie's, and of his regiment, was found Guilty, tho' his parish minister, Mr. James Roberfson at Lochbroom, Ross-shire, gave him the character of a Person well affected to the government.

—8. Captain *John Farquarson* retracted and pleaded Guilty.—Captain *Colin Mackenzie* of Ballone, aged about nineteen, and Ensign *Roderick Mackenzie*, were acquitted. Their parish-minister, the above Mr. Roberfson, gave them the character of persons well affected to his Majesty.

—10. Major *Nicholas Glascoe* was acquitted. He pleaded the cartel of Francfort; and proved, by four French officers, That he was a Lieutenant in Dillon's regiment, French, and a native of France, born at St. German's-en-ley. Upon the jury's bringing in their verdict Not Guilty, the court ordered him to be detained as a prisoner of war, and his bolts to be struck off.

—15. Capt. *Alexander Buchanan*, aged about nineteen, was acquitted; it appeared that he was forced into the rebellion by the Duke of Perth, to whom his father was a tenant.—Then the Lord Chief Justice Lee, passed sentence on the twenty two persons following, viz. Sir *James Kinloch*, *Rory (Roderick) Macculloch*, *John Hamilton*, *George Abernethy*, *John Burnet*, *Charles Gordon*,

*Gordon, James Gordon, Alexander Leith, Walter Mitchell, George Ramsay, Francis Farquarson, James Stewart, James Bradshaw, James Lindsay, Andrew Wood, Allan Cameron, Sir John Wedderburn, Henry Ker, Alexander Maclauchlan, Thomas Watson, Hector Mackenzie, and John Farquarson.*

The council for *Alexander and Charles Kinlochs*, made a motion in arrest of judgement; the arguing of which was put off till the 15th of December; to which day the court adjourned. There were seven judges present at passing sentence, viz. the Lord Chief Justices Lee and Willes, Mess. Justices Wright, Abney, and Foster, and Mess. Barons Reynolds and Clive.

Pursuant to their adjournment, the court met at St. Margaret's Hill on the 15th of December; present the Lord Chief Justices Lee and Willes, and the Chief Baron Parker; Mess. Justices Wright, Abney, Denison, and Foster; and Mess. Barons Reynolds, Clarke and Clive. *Alexander and Charles Kinlochs* were brought to the bar; and the motion made in arrest of judgment by their council having been argued for a considerable time, by Mr. Attorney-General, Sir John Strange, and Mr. Solicitor-General, for the King, and by Mr. Joddrel for the prisoners, the determination of it was put off till the 20th.

On the 16th, present Lord Chief Justice Willes, Mr. Baron Reynolds, and Mr. Justice Abney, *Alexander Grant* was brought to the bar. After his indictment was read, the Attorney-General acquainted the court, that he was informed the prisoner was one of those who laid down their arms upon the Duke's proclamation; and therefore desired he might be acquitted: which was accordingly done.—Mr. *George Law*, Minister of an Episcopal meeting in Aberdeen, and called chaplain to Stonywood's regiment in the rebel-army, was acquitted after a long trial.—Bills were found against Henry Moir, Robert Moir, Alexander Mackenzie, James Stormount and Charles Oliphant.

On the 17th, present Mess. Justices Abney and Foster, and Mr. Baron Clive, *Adam Hay*, a volunteer in Pitts-

go's

go's horse, and afterwards a private man in Stonywood's regiment, was found Guilty, but recommended to mercy. — *Andrew Spruel* was acquitted by the consent of the Attorney General, without entering into the evidence for the crown.

On the 20th, the judges the same as on the 15th, the affair of Mess. Kinlochs was determined. — The case was thus. The prisoners pleaded Not guilty upon their arraignment, and a jury was charged with them. But at the request of the prisoners council, (the Attorney-General, &c. consenting), a juror was withdrawn, and the jury discharged, before any evidence was given for the crown; and it was agreed, that the prisoners should withdraw their plea of Not guilty, and put in a plea to the jurisdiction of the court. The Attorney-General demurred, and the prisoners council joined in the demurrer. The plea to the jurisdiction having been argued, and overruled, another jury was charged with the prisoners; who brought in their verdict Guilty. But when sentence would have been passed, it was moved in arrest of judgment, That after a jury is charged with a prisoner; if a juror is withdrawn, and the jury is discharged without giving a verdict tho' by consent of the parties, no jury can be charged with the prisoner again nor can judgment be passed upon him, but he must be discharged. The judges, who were till four o'clock afternoon in giving in their opinions, gave it against the prisoners, all except Mr. Justice Wright; and accordingly sentence of death was passed upon them, and upon Adam Hay above mentioned. — Lord *Macleod*, the Earl of Cromertie's son, and Mr. *William Murray* of Taymont, brother to the Earl of Dunmore, were arraigned and pleaded Guilty and were carried back to the tower. Then the court adjourned to the 18th of January.

In the beginning of August a great many rebel-prisoners were carried from Scotland, and some from Newcastle, to Carlisle. On the 12th, Lord Chief Baron Parker, Mess. Justices Burnet and Denison, and Mr. Baron Clarke, opened their commission of Oyer and Terminer there. Sir Thomas Lowther, Sir Philip Musgrave



grave, John Waugh Chancellor of Carlisle, Richard Gilpin, and othe Justices, named in the commission, were present.

The Number of rebel-prisoners in Carlisle amounted to 385. The common men were indulged the drawing lots, one in twenty to be tried, and nineteen transported. Some of them, however, chose rather to stand a trial. Several soldiers of different regiments were evidences; and such rebels as they accused of having been remarkably cruel, were not permitted to draw. The proceedings were a little retarded by the Scots evidences, many of whom refused to swear in the manner practised in the English courts. After long reasoning among the judges, they were sworn according to the Scots form. From the 12th till the 16th, the grand jury found bills of indictment against 119 rebels; who having been all brought to the bar, the judges desired them to chuse what council and solicitors they pleased, and told them, they had given directions to the clerk to make out subpoenas *gratis*, to bring what witnesses they thought proper for their exculpation. Every prisoner got a copy of his indictment, with notice to prepare for trial against the 9th of September. To which day the court adjourned, and the judges set out for York; where they opened their commission on the 20th, for the trial of the rebel prisoners there.

Pursuant to their adjournment, the court met on the 9th of September; on which and the two following days, most of the 119 rebels were arraigned. On of them, Samuel Clarke, an Englishman, was hanged for felony, on a separate indictment, before the court met. On the 12th the grand jury sat again, and continued till the 26th. The following list gives an account of the issue of them. Those to whose names *E* is annexed, are Englishmen; *c.* common men; and *s* surrendered in terms of the Duke's proclamation.

Charles Douglas. He pleaded his peerage as Lord Mordington; which

was allowed, tho' at first opposed by the King's council.

*Pled*

*Pled Guilty when arraigned* 11.

Roger Fulthorp *E*

James Innes, brother to Cookston

Robert Taylor shoemaker in Edinburgh, the Captain made prisoner when the castle of Edinburgh was blockaded

Patrick Lindsay late farmer at Wester Deans houses Tweeddale.

James Harvy inkeeper at Linlithgow bridge.

Robert Randal exciseman

Henry Clarke of Edinburgh

James Mitchell *c*

Patrick Kier wright, Edin.

William Sharp, son of Alexander Sharp merch. St. Andrews.

Alexander Davidson shoemaker, Edin,

*Pled Guilty when brought to be tried*, 32.

Sir Archibald Primrose of Dunipace.

Laurence Mercer of Lethindy

Robert Murray writer in Edinburgh, son to Spittlehaugh

Charles Gordon of Dalperfy

David Home, brother to A. Home of Manderston

Andrew Johnston, son to Knockhill

James Smith writer, son of

James Smith writer in Edin. deceased

Andrew Porteous of Burnfoot, Mid-Lothian

Robert Maxwell writer in Edinburgh

John Wallace of Linlithgowshire *c*

John Campbell *c*

William Duncan taylor

Robert Forbes printer, son to New

Donald Mackenzie *c*

Hugh Roy, a boy

John Davidson *c*

John Mackenzie *c*

John Poultie taylor

Ronald Macdonald of the city-guard, Edinburgh

Alexander Anderson, of Aberdeen.

Andrew Swan shoemaker in Edinburgh

James Campbell Macgri-gor, Glengyle's piper

Alexander Stevenson, of Edinburgh wright

Thomas Keightly *E*

Samuel Lee *E*

Barnaby Matthews *E*

William Wynstandly *E*

Thomas Park *E*

John Robottom *E*

John Saundeson *E*

Philip Hunt *E*

Valentine Holt *E*

*Found Guilty* 37.

Francis Buchanan of Arr-prior

Donald Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart

- lochmoidart  
 Donald Macdonald of Ty-  
 endriff, Major  
 Mr. Robert Lyon, Episco-  
 pal Minister at Perth  
 James Hay, brother to  
 Hopes, a Captain and  
 Paymaster in Lord John  
 Drummond's regiment  
 William Home, nephew to  
 Bassinrig  
 John Henderson of Castle-  
 mains, writer in Loch-  
 maban  
 James Brand watchmaker  
 Patrick Murray goldsmith  
 in Stirling  
 James Ancrum, salt-over-  
 seer at Bonhard pans  
 Richard Morison wigmaker  
 in Edinburgh, the Pre-  
 tender's son's valet  
 Thomas Lawton pedlar  
 Robert Reid  
 John Macniel  
 James Forbes of Edin. a  
 servant  
 Hugh Cameron of Locha-  
 ber  
 Simon Lugton-taylor Edin.  
 John Macnaughton watch-  
 maker in Edinburgh,  
 who killed Colonel Gar-  
 diner  
 Alexander Hutchison of E-  
 dinburgh, one of the Pre-  
 tender's son's grooms  
 William Baird, of Angus,  
 gardener  
 George Hartly E  
 Richard Brown E  
 Mr. Thomas Coppock E,  
 said to be made Bishop of  
 Carlisle by the Pretend-  
 er's son  
 Stephen Fitzgerald, pre-  
 tended to be French  
 William Cook E  
 Molineux Eaton E  
 William Hargrave E  
 Thomas Hays E  
 John Hartely E  
 Edward Röper E  
 Robert Tinsley E  
 Peter Taylor E  
 George Waring E  
 Matthew Waring E  
 James Mollen E  
 James Chaddock E  
 Michael Delard, of Ire-  
 land  
*Found Guilty, but recom-  
 mended to mercy by the  
 jury, 11.*  
 Robert Wright writer in  
 Edin.  
 William Gray, of Brechin,  
 surgeon  
 Patrick Stewart, in Inver-  
 vaik  
 William Leckie c  
 John Coppock E, the Bi-  
 shop's brother  
 Thomas Harvie E  
 Thomas Turner of Wal-  
 ton E  
 Lewis Baron E  
 John Small E, a boy  
 Thomas Turner of Bury E  
*Acquitted, 36.*



Charles Spalding of Whitefield, Athol	George Steill, of Aberdeen merchant, <i>f</i>
James Fergusson of Dunfalandie, Athol	John Martine, at bridge of Don, farmer <i>f</i>
James Seaton, son to Carrieston	Patrick Macgrigor <i>f</i>
Patrick Buchanan, brother to Arnprior	Duncan Macgrigor <i>f</i>
Thomas Buchanan, brother to Arnprior	David Laird, Perthshire <i>f</i>
James Murray, of Edinburgh, surgeon	Patrick Butter, of Athol, <i>f</i>
Martin Lindsay, of ditto writer	Robert Gordon of Edin. alehouse-keeper <i>f</i>
James Thoirs, of ditto, ditto	Duncan Neish <i>f</i>
Archibald Maclauchlan, of Fort William	Thomas Hatch <i>E</i> on lunacy
William Stewart, on force	Robert Rosco <i>E</i>
Alexander Brodie <i>c</i> , on force	Thomas Williamson <i>E</i>
Alexander Steill <i>c</i>	Edmund Bayne <i>E</i>
Neil MacIaren, a boy, on force	Thomas Warrington <i>E</i> , a boy
Donald Macdonald, of Appin	Thomas Barton <i>E</i>
Donald Maccormig, of ditto	Thomas Collingwood <i>E</i>
Jame Drummond, of Auchterarder	James Braithwaite <i>E</i>
John Petrie alehouse-keeper in Edinburgh	Patrick Mackewar <i>E</i>
John alias James MacIeran	<i>Not tried, in hopes of being discharged for want of evidence, 5</i>
John Forrest <i>c</i>	John Stewart, of Kinross
	William Greenhill, of Angus
	Robert Macfarlane
	Alexander Ritchie
	Thomas Blair
	About 34, confined in the county goal, on suspicion were set at liberty.

On the 22d, 23d, 24th, and 26th sentence was pronounced against all those who had pled or were found Guilty; and then the sessions ended.

The trials at York began on the second of October, were continued the 3d, 4th, 6th, and ended on the 7th. Lord Chief Baron Parker, Mess. Justices Burnet and

Dennison, and Mr. Baron Clarke, were the judges; and Lord Irvin, John Reed, Esq; Lord Mayor of York, and others named in the commission, were present—— The following list shews the issue of the trials.

*Pled Guilty when arraigned, 2.*

James Wishart

John Bartlet

*Pled Guilty when brought to be tried, 52.*

David Roe

John Scott

Benjamin Mason

Robert Stewart

James Maclauchlan

Gilbert Barclay

John Maclauchlan

Archibald Paton

John Beaton

William Grant

James Crichton

John Barnaghy

John Fint

James Maine

Alex. Goodbrand

William Dempsey

John Porteous

George Mills

John Macqueen

George Boyd

Sir David Murray

Alexander Maclean

Alexander Steill

John Maclean

John Cruikshanks

Peter Hay

James Thomson

John Duncan

Archibald Kennedy

Peter Macdonald

Charles Gordon

Alexander Nicholas

Alexander Parker

John Endsworth

William Smith

Simon Mackenzie

David Webster

William Barclay

William Hunter

William Stephens

John Macgrigor

Edward Clavering

Peter Campbell

William Hay

John Geddes

William Farrier

John Walker

Daniel Frazer

Matthew Matthews

Angus Campbell

*Found Guilty 12.*

William Conolly

George Hamilton of Red-house

Charles Robertson

Duncan Stewart

Thomas Macgennis

Alexander Scot

William Crosby

William Scot

James Macquiley

James

James Sparks  
Michael Brady

John James Jellens, a  
Frenchman

*Found Guilty, but recommended to mercy by the jury, 4.*

David Ogilvy

Daniel Duff

James Reid, a piper

David Wilkie

*Acquitted, 5.*

John Long

Nicholas Garr

John Ballantine

Louis 'Soure alias 'Foure,

Charles Webster

a Frenchman

On the 7th sentence was pronounced against all who had pled or were found Guilty; the whole amounting to seventy. Eighty of the common people having drawn lots, seventy six of them were transported.

Before the middle of October, an order was sent to Carlisle for the execution of thirty of the rebels condemned there, ten at Carlisle on the 18th, ten at Brampton on the 21st, and ten at Penrith on the 28th. Accordingly, Mr. Thomas Coppock, the Pretender's Bishop, Edward Roper, Francis Buchanan of Arnprior, Donald, Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart, Major Donald Macdonald of Tyendrish, John Henderson, John Macnaughton, James Brand, and Hugh Cameron, were executed at Carlisle, and James Ancrum, the tenth, was reprieved; James Innes, Patrick Lindsay, Ronald Macdonald, Thomas Park, Peter Taylor, and Michael Delard, were executed at Brampton, Stephen Fitzgerald died in prison, and James Forbes, Richard Morison, and Alexander Hutchison, the remaining three, were reprieved; and Mr. Robert Lyon, David Home, Andrew Swan, James Harvie, John Robottom, Philip Hunt, and Valentine Holt, were executed at Penrith, and Alexander Anderson Robert Randal, and James Campbell alias Macgrigor, the other three were reprieved.—Richard Morison was carried off for London on the morning of the 21st by one of the King's messengers.

Mr. Coppock made a long treasonable sermon or speech at the place of execution, prayed for the Pretender, his son Charles, and all the rest of the Stewart family, called King George an usurper, &c. and then



gave the sermon to the Sheriff—It was observed that he behaved very insolently on his trial; that when he was going from the bar, after having been found guilty, he said openly to the other rebel prisoners, *Never mind it, my boys; for if our Saviour was here these fellows would condemn him;* and that, seeing Brand drop tears when they received sentence, he said, *What the devil are you afraid of? We shan't be tried by a Cumberland jury in the other world.*

The clergymen were highly charmed with the behaviour of Francis Buchanan of Arnprior, Esq; He discovered a sweetness of temper, an undisturbed calmness, firmness, and presence of mind, beyond expression; his sentiments about religion and dying were just, and the whole of his carriage from his sentence to his last moment uniformly good; and, after the rope was about his neck, he said, *If I have offended any, I earnestly beg they'll forgive me; for I am sure I forgive all the world.* This was related by a Gentleman who was present at his execution.

They all died with great resolution, but persisted in justifying what they had done.

Twenty two of the seventy rebels sentenced at York were executed at that city, viz.

On the 1st of November Captain George Hamilton, Daniel Frazer, Edward Clavering, Charles Gordon, Benjamin Mason, James Main, William Cotton, William Dempsey, Angus Macdonald, and James Sparks.

On the 8th David Roe, of Fife, once an officer of the customs, William Hunter of Newcastle upon Tyne of Townly's regiment, John Endsworth of Knotsford of Grant's; John Maclean of the isle of Sky, and John Macgrigor both of Perth's; Simon Mackenzie of Inverness, and Alexander Parker of Murray both of Roy Stewart's; Thomas Macgennis, of Banffshire, of Glenbucket's; Archibald Kennedy servant to Colonel Grant; James Thomson of Angus, of Ogilvy's; and Michael Brady, an Irishman: and on the 15th James Reid of Angus. They all behaved with great decency but would

not

not acknowledge the treason they suffered for, to be a crime.

Eleven rebels were executed at Carlisle on the 15th of November, *viz.* Sir Archibald Primrose of Dunipace, Charles Gordon of Dalperfy, Patrick Murray goldsmith in Stirling, Patrick Kier and Alexander Stevenson wrights in Edinburgh. Robert Reid, John Wallace, and James Mitchell, all Scots; Molineux Eaton, and Thomas Hays, English; and Baraby Matthews, Irish. They all died firm in the cause for which they suffered—According to accounts from Carlisle of November 14th, five of the rebels under sentence had died in prison, *viz.* James Ancrum, (after he was reprieved,) Laurence Mercer of Lethindy, James Smith writer, Henry Clerk, and John Ratcliffe. The rest of the rebels were reprieved, all *sine die*, except Captain Hay, whose reprieve was for two months. Mr. Robert Lyon read a treasonable libel at the place of execution, near twenty minutes long, in which he declared that if his life had been prolonged, he would still have continued in the same principles.

Five of the twenty two rebels condemned at St. Margaret's Hill on the 15th, were executed on Kennington common on the 28th, *viz.* Sir John Wedderburn, John Hamilton, a rebel Colonel, and Governor of the castle of Carlisle, Alexander Leith, Alexander Wood, and James Bradshaw. Before coming out of the goal, they took a little refreshment; and Wood called for some white wine, and drank health and prosperity to the Pretender and his sons, giving them the Royal titles. After they were taken out of the sledges, they prayed for some time, No clergyman attended them at the gallows. They all declared they did not fear death, and none of them seemed to be shocked. In their last moments they prayed for the Pretender and his cause. Their heads and bodies were carried back to the new-goal. Colonel Francis Farquharson, of Monaltery, Thomas Watson, and James Lindsay, were to have suffered with them; but reprieves came for the two first, the

evening before the execution, and for Lindsay, just as he was going into the sledge.

*As the following Declarations and Manifestoes contain the pretexts of the enemies of the government, and point out the fallacious arguments they made use of for seducing his Majesty's loyal subjects; we have subjoined them to the history of the rebellion. We are sorry we had not room for several ingenious papers wrote in answer to them, for which we refer our readers to the Scots Magazine for 1745 and 1746. In general it may be observed, that the little regard payed to the promises or threatenings contained in them sufficiently shews their weakness.*

#### I. The Pretender's declaration for Scotland.

JAMES R.

**J**AMES VIII. by the grace of God, King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our loving subjects, of what degree or quality soever, greeting.

Having always borne the most constant affection to our antient Kingdom of Scotland, from whence we derive our Royal origin, and where our Progenitors have swayed the sceptre with glory through a longer succession of Kings, than any monarchy upon earth can at this day boast of; we cannot but behold with the deepest concern the miseries they suffer under a foreign usurpation, and the intolerable burdens daily added to their yoke; which become yet more sensible to us, when we consider the constant zeal and affection the generality of our subjects, of that our antient kingdom have expressed for us on all occasions, and particularly when we had the satisfaction of being ourselves amongst them.

We see a nation always famous for valour, and highly esteemed by the greatest of foreign potentates, reduced to the condition of a province, under the specious pretence of an union with a more powerful neighbour. In consequence of this pretended union, grievous and unprecedented taxes have been laid on, and levied with severity



verity in spite of all the representations that could be made to the contrary; and these have not failed to produce that poverty, and decay of trade, which were easily forseen to be the necessary consequences of such oppressive measures.

To prevent the just resentment which could not but arise from such usage, our faithful *highlanders*, a people always trained up and inured to arms, have been deprived of them; forts and citadels have been built and garrisoned, where no foreign invasion could be apprehended; and a military government has been effectually introduced, as into a conquered country. It is easy to forsee, what must be the consequence of such violent and unprecedented proceedings, if a timely remedy be not put to them: neither is it less manifest, that such a remedy can never be obtained, but by our restoration, into whose Royal heart such destructive maxims could never find admittance.

We think it needless to call to mind how solicitous we have ever been, and how often we have ventured our Royal person, to compass this great end; which the divine providence seems now to have furnished us with the means of doing effectually, by enabling our good subjects in England to shake off their yoke, under which they have likewise felt their share of common calamities. Our former experience leaves us no room to doubt of the chearful and hearty concurrence of our Scots subjects on this occasion, towards the perfecting the great and glorious work: but that none may be deterred by the memory of past miscarriages from returning to their duty, and being restored to the happiness they formerly enjoyed; we in this publick manner, think fit to make known our gracious intentions towards all our people.

We do therefore, by this our Royal declaration, absolutely and effectually pardon and remit all treasons and other crimes hitherto committed against our Royal father, or ourselves. \* From the benefit of which pardon we except none, but such as shall after the publication hereof, willingly and maliciously oppose us, or those who shall appear or endeavour to appear in arms for our service.

We

We further declare, that we will, with all convenient speed, call a free parliament; that, by the advice and assistance of such an assembly, we may be enabled to repair the breaches caused by so long an usurpation, to redress all grievances, and to free our people from that unsupportable burden of the malt-tax, and all other hardships and impositions, which have been the consequences of the pretended union; that so the nation may be restored to that honour and liberty, and independency, which it formerly enjoyed.

We likewise promise, upon our Royal word, to protect, secure and maintain all our Protestant subjects in the free exercise of their religion, and in the full enjoyment of all their rights, privileges, and immunities, and in the secure possession of all churches, universities, colleges and schools, conform to the laws of the land.

All this we shall be ready to confirm in our first parliament; in which we promise to pass any act or acts that shall be judged necessary to secure each private person in the full enjoyment of his liberty and property, to advance trade, to relieve the poor, and establish the general welfare and tranquility of the nation. In all such matters, we are fully resolved to act always by the advice of our parliaments, and to value none of our titles so much, as that of *common father of our people*; which we shall ever show ourselves to be, by our constant endeavours to promote the quiet and happiness of all our subjects. And we shall be particularly solicitous, to settle, encourage and maintain the fishery and linen manufacture of the nation, which we are sensible may be of such advantage to it, and which, we hope are works reserved for us to accomplish.

As for those who shall appear more signally zealous for the recovery of our just rights, and the prosperity of their country, we shall take effectual care to reward them according to their respective degrees and merits. And we particularly promise, as aforesaid, our full, free and general pardon to all officers, soldiers and sailors, now engaged in the service of the usurper, whether of the sea or land, provided that, upon the publication  
hereof

hereof, and before they engage in any fight or battle against our forces, they quit the said unjust and unwarrantable service, and return to their duty: in which case, we shall pay them all the arrears that shall be at that time due to them from the usurper; we shall grant to the officers the same commissions they shall then bear, if not higher; and to all soldiers and sailors a gratification of a whole year's pay, for their forwardness in promoting our service.

We further promise and declare, that the vassals of such as shall, without regard to our present declaration, obstinately persist in their rebellion, and thereby forfeit all pretensions to our Royal clemency, shall be delivered from all servitude they were formerly bound to, and shall have grants and charters of their lands to be held immediately of the crown, provided they, upon the publication of this our declaration, declare openly for us, and join heartily in the cause of their country.

And having thus declared our gracious intentions to our loving subjects, we do hereby require and command them to be assisting to us in the recovery of our rights, and of their own liberties; and that all our subjects, from the age of sixteen to sixty, do upon the setting up of our Royal standard, immediately repair to it, or join themselves to such as shall first appear for us in their respective shires; and also to seize the horses and arms of all suspected persons, and all ammunition, forage, and whatever else may be necessary for the use of our forces.

We also strictly command all receivers, collectors, or other persons, who may be seized of any sum or sums of money levied in the name or for the use of the usurper, to retain such sum or sums of money in their own hands, till they can pay them to some person of distinction appearing publickly for us, and demanding the same for our use and service; whose receipt or receipts shall be a sufficient discharge for all such collectors, receivers, or other persons, their heirs, &c.

Lastly we do hereby require all Sheriffs of Shires, Stewarts of Stewartries, and their respective deputies, magistrates of Royal boroughs, and Bailies of regalities, and



and all other to whom it may belong, to publish this our declaration, at the market-crosses of their respective towns and boroughs, and there proclaim us, under the penalty of being proceeded against according to law, for their neglect of so necessary and important a duty.

Given at our court at Rome, the 23d day of December 1743, in the forty third year of our reign.

J. R.

## II. *The Pretender's declaration for England.*

JAMES R.

**J**AMES VIII. by the grace of God, King of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our loving subjects, of what degree or quality soever, greeting.

The love and affection we bear to our native country, are so natural and inherent to us, that they could never be altered or diminished by a long and remote exile, nor the many hardships we have undergone during the whole course of our life; and we almost forget our own misfortunes, when we consider the oppression and tyranny under which our country has laboured so long. We have seen our people, for many years, groaning under the weight of most heavy taxes, and bearing many of the calamities of war, while the rest of Europe enjoyed all the blessings of peace. We have seen the treasures of the nation applied to satiate private avarice, and lavished for the support of German dominions, or for carrying on ambitious views, always foreign, and often contrary to the true interest of the nation. We have since seen the nation involved in wars, which have been, and are carried on without any advantage to Britain, and even to the manifest detriment and discouragement of its trade, and a great body of Hanoverians taken into the English pay and service, in a most extraordinary manner, and at a most expensive rate; nor could we behold without indignation, the preference and partiality shewn on all occasions to these foreigners, and the notorious affronts put on the British troops. We have beheld, with astonishment, an universal corruption and dissolution of  
manners

manners, encouraged and countenanced by those whose example and authority should have been employed to repress it, and a more than tacit connivance given to all irreligion and immorality. Bribery and corruption have been openly and universally practised, and no means neglected to seduce the great council of the nation, that it might be the more effectually enslaved by those who ought to be the guardians of its liberty. The manufactures of England are visibly going to decay, trade has been neglected and even discouraged, and the very honour of the nation made a sacrifice to the passions of those who govern it.

The unhappy state to which our subjects have been reduced by these and many other unjust and violent proceedings, has constantly filled our Royal heart with grief and concern, while our whole thoughts and study have been employed towards procuring the most speedy and effectual remedy to them, which we were always sensible could only be compassed by our restoration. This has ever been the principal view of the several attempts we have made for the recovery of our just rights without being discouraged by the disappointments with which we have hitherto met. But tho' providence has permitted that iniquity and injustice should long prevail, we have all reason to hope, that the time is at last come in which the divine mercy will put a period to these misfortunes. We see, with a sensible satisfaction, the eyes of the greatest part of our people opened, with regard to their present deplorable situation; and that they are convinced they can find no relief but by restoring their natural-born prince, whose undoubted title will of course put an end to the many calamities they have suffered during the usurpation. And our satisfaction would be compleat, could we owe our natural happiness to our ourselves and subjects alone, without the assistance of any foreign power: but should we find it necessary to employ any such, let our good subjects be assured, it is only to protect ourselves and them against those shoals of foreign mercenaries, with which the Elector fills the kingdom whenever he thinks himself in danger; and therefore,

therefore, to disperse, all fears and jealousies from the hearts and minds of our subjects, and to convince them, as much as in us lies, of the happiness they may enjoy under our government, we have thought fit to unfold to them, in this solemn and publick manner, the sincere sentiments of our Royal and truly English heart.

We hereby grant a free, full and general pardon, for all offences whatsoever, hitherto committed, against our Royal father, or ourselves; to the benefit of which we shall deem justly intitled, all such of our subjects as shall, after our appearing in arms by ourselves, our dearest son the Prince of Wales, our deputies, or the commanders of our auxiliary forces, testify their willingness to accept of it, either by joining our troops with all convenient diligence, by setting up our standard in other places, by repairing to any place where it shall be put up, or at least by openly renouncing all pretended allegiance to the usurper, and all obedience to his orders, or those of any person or persons commissioned or employed by him.

As soon as the publick tranquility shall permit, we solemnly promise to call and assemble a free parliament, wherein no corruption, nor undue influence of any kind whatsoever, shall be used to bias the votes of the electors or the elected; and, with the sincere and impartial advice and concurrence of the said parliament, we shall be ready to settle all that may relate to the welfare of the kingdom, both in civil and ecclesiastical matters.

We solemnly promise to protect, support and maintain the church of England, as by law established, in all her rights, privileges, possessions and immunities whatsoever; and we shall, on all occasions, bestow marks of our Royal favour on the whole body of the clergy, but more particularly on those whose principles and practices shall best correspond with the dignity of their profession. We also solemnly promise to grant and allow the benefit of a toleration to all Protestant dissenters, being utterly averse to all persecution and animosity on account of religion and conscience.

And as we are desirous to reign chiefly over the affections of our people, we shall be utterly averse to the suspending



suspending the *Habeas corpus* act, as well as to the loading our subjects with unnecessary taxes, or raising any in a manner burdensome to them, especially to the introducing of foreign excises, and to all such methods as may have been hitherto devised and pursued to acquire arbitrary power, at the expence of the liberty and property of the subject.

It is our fixed resolution and intention, to distinguish, recompense and employ men of merit and probity, who are true lovers of their country, and of the church of England as by law established. By such a conduct, we hope the native genius and honour of the nation may be soon retrieved; and that those party-prejudices, divisions and distinctions, which have so long prevailed, and have been so pernicious to the nation, may be buried in perpetual oblivion.

As for the foreign troops employed in the present expedition, effectual care shall be taken to make them observe the strictest discipline while they stay, without offering the least injury to peaceable people; and we solemnly engage to send them home as soon as the publick tranquillity shall be judged by parliament to allow of it, and even before a parliament is assembled, if the posture of affairs shall permit it.

In the mean time we strictly charge and require all persons, who, at the first news of our troops entering the kingdom, shall be seized of any sum or sums of money, for the use of the usurper, to keep the same in their hands, to be accounted for to us, or to pay it, when required, into the hands of any person of distinction, publicly appearing and acting for our service; whose receipt shall be a sufficient discharge for the said person or persons, their heirs, &c. But if they shall refuse or neglect to comply with these our orders, we hereby authorise and require all our Generals, Lieutenant Generals, and other officers, and all our faithful adherents, to seize, for our use, such sum or sums of money, as well as horses, arms artillery, accoutrements and ammunition, forage and provisions, as shall be found

in the hands of those who shall not be willing to employ them in our service.

We also command and require all those who bear any military commission or arms, whether in the fleet, army, or militia, to use and employ them for our service; since they cannot but be sensible, that no engagements entered into with a foreign usurper, can dispense with the allegiance they owe to us their natural sovereign. And as a farther encouragement to them to comply with their duty and our commands, we promise to every such officer, the same or a higher post, in our service, than that which they at present enjoy, with full payment of whatever arrears may be due to them at the time of their declaring for us; and to every soldier, trooper and dragoon, who shall join us, as well as to every seamen and mariner of the fleet, who shall declare for and serve us, all their arrears, and a whole year's pay to be given each of them as a gratuity, as soon as ever the kingdom shall be in a state of tranquillity.

And lastly, that this undertaking may be accompanied with as little present inconveniency as possible to our subjects, we hereby authorise and require all civil officers and magistrates, now in place and office, to continue, till farther order, to execute their respective employments in our name, and by our authority, and to give strict obedience to such orders and directions as may be issued out by those who will be vested with our authority and power.

It is a subject of unspeakable concern to us, to find ourselves, by a complication of different circumstances, under an absolute impossibility of heading, ourselves, this just and glorious undertaking, for the relief and happiness of our country. But we are in hopes, that the youth and vigour of our dearest son, the Prince of Wales, may abundantly enable him to supply our place. And therefore we have invested him with the title and power of Regent of all our dominions, until such time as we can ourselves arrive in them, which we shall do with all possible speed.

Having

Having thus sincerely, and in the presence of Almighty God, declared our true sentiments and intentions in this expedition, we once more charge and require all our loving subjects, to concur with us, to the utmost of their power, towards obtaining such desirable ends: for those who shall wilfully persist in their unnatural attachment to the usurper, and continue to act in consequence of it, they cannot but be sensible, that they are to expect no benefit from a pardon so graciously offered to them. But we heartily wish none such may be found, but that all may be as ready to accept of an act of grace and oblivion as we are to grant it; and it being our earnest desire, that the very memory of past misfortunes and errors may be effaced, and that no obstacle may remain to perfect union betwixt King and people; which will be the more easily compassed, when they compare what they have suffered under the dominion of foreigners, with what we here offer to them, and are firmly resolved to perform. Let therefore all true Englishmen join with us on this occasion in their country's cause, and be fully convinced, that we neither do nor shall propose to ourselves any other happiness or glory, but what shall arise from our effectually providing for the honour and welfare of the nation, and maintaining every part of its happy constitution both in church and state.

Given under our sign-manual and privy signet, the 23d day of December 1743.

J.

### III. *The Pretender's son's first manifesto.*

CHARLES P. R.

**B**Y virtue and authority of the above commission of Regency, granted unto us by the King our Royal father, we are now come to execute his Majesty's will and pleasure, by setting up his Royal standard, and asserting his undoubted right to the throne of his ancestors.

We do therefore, in his Majesty's name, and pursuant to the tenor of his several declarations, hereby grant a full and general pardon, for all treasons, rebellions,



ons, and offences whatsoever, committed at any time before the publication hereof, against our Royal grandfather, his present Majesty, and ourselves. To the benefit of this pardon we shall deem justly intitled all such of his Majesty's subjects as shall testify their willingness to accept of it, either by joining our forces with all convenient diligence, by setting up his Royal standard in other places, by repairing for our service to any place where it shall be set up; or, at least, by openly renouncing all pretended allegiance to the usurper, and all obedience to his orders; or to those of any person or persons employed by him, or acting avowedly for him.

As for those who shall appear more signally zealous for the recovery of his Majesty's just rights, and the prosperity of their country, we shall take effectual care to have them rewarded according to their respective degrees and merits. And we particularly promise, as aforesaid, a full, free and general pardon, to all officers, soldiers, and sailors, now engaged in the service of the usurper; provided, that, upon the publication hereof, and before they engage in any fight or battle against his Majesty's forces, they quit the said unjust and unwarrantable service, and return to their duty; since they cannot but be sensible, that no engagements entered into with a foregin usurper, can dispense with the allegiance they owe to their native sovereign. And as a further encouragement to them to comply with their duty, and and our commands, we promise to every such officer the same, or a higher post, in our service, than that which at present he enjoys, with full payment of whatever arrears may be due to him at the time of his declaring for us; and to every soldier, trooper, and dragoon, who shall join us, as well as to every seaman and mariner of the fleet, who shall declare for, and serve us, all their arrears, and a whole year's pay to be given to each of them as a gratuity, as soon as ever the kingdoms shall be in a state of tranquillity.

We hereby further promise and declare, in his Majesty's name, and by virtue of the above said commission, that as soon as ever that happy state is obtained, he will,

by

by and with the advice of a free parliament; wherein no corruption nor undue influence whatsoever shall be used to bias the votes of the electors or the elected, settle, confirm and secure all the rights, ecclesiastical and civil, of each of his respective kingdoms; his Majesty being fully resolved to maintain the church of England, as by law established, and likewise the Protestant churches of Scotland and Ireland, conformable to the laws of each respective kingdom; together with a toleration to all Protestant dissenters; being utterly averse to all persecution and oppression whatsoever, particularly on account of conscience and religion. And we ourselves being perfectly convinced of the reasonableness and equity of the same principles, do, in consequence hereof, further promise and declare, that all his Majesty's subjects shall be by him and us maintained in the full enjoyment and possession of all their rights, privileges and immunities; and especially of all churches, universities, colleges and schools, conformable to the laws of the land; which shall ever be the unalterable rule of his Majesty's government, and our own actions.

And that this our undertaking may be accompanied with as little present inconvenience as possible to the King's subjects, we do hereby authorise and require all civil officers and magistrates now in place and office, to continue, till further orders, to execute their respective employments, in our name, and by our authority, as far as may be requisite for the maintenance of common justice, order and quiet: willing and requiring them, at the same time, to give strict obedience to such orders and directions as may from time to time be issued out by us, or those who shall be vested with any share of our authority and power.

We also command and require all officers of the revenue, and excise, all tax gatherers, of what denomination soever, and all others who may have any part of the publick money in their hands, to deliver it immediately to some principal commander authorised by us, and take his receipt for the same, which shall be to them a sufficient discharge; and in case of refusal, we authorise and

charge all such our commanders, to exact the same for our use, and to be accountable for it to us, or our officers for that purpose appointed.

And having thus sincerely in the presence of Almighty God, declared the true sentiments and intentions of the King our Royal father, as well as our own, in this expedition, we do hereby require and command all his subjects, to be assisting to us in recovery of his just rights, and of their own liberties; and that all such, from the age of sixteen to sixty, do forthwith repair to his Majesty's Royal standard, or join themselves to such as shall first appear in their respective shires for his service; and also to seize the horses and arms of all suspected persons, and all ammunition, forage, and whatever else may be necessary for our use or the use of our forces,

Lastly, we do hereby require all Mayors, Sheriffs, and other magistrates, of what denomination soever, their respective deputies, and all others to whom it may belong, to publish this our declaration at the market-crosses of their respective cities, towns and boroughs, and there to proclaim his Majesty, under the penalty of being proceeded against according to law, for the neglect of so necessary and important a duty. For as we have hereby graciously and sincerely offered a free and general pardon for all that is past; so we, at the same time, seriously warn all his Majesty's subjects, that we shall leave to the rigour of the law all those who shall from henceforth oppose us, or wilfully and deliberately do or concur in any act or acts, civil or military, to the let or detriment of us, our cause or title, or to the destruction, prejudice or annoyance of those who shall, according to their duty, and our intentions thus publicly signified, declare and act for us.

Given at Paris, the 16th May 1745.

C. P. R.

IV. The



IV. *The Pretender's son's second manifesto,*

CHARLES P. R.

CHARLES Prince of Wales, &c. Regent of the Kingdoms of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging: Unto all his Majesty's Subjects, of what degree soever greeting.

As soon as we, conducted by the providence of God arrived in Scotland, and were joined by a handful of our Royal Father's faithful Subjects, our first care was, to make publick His most gracious declaration; and, in consequence of the large powers by him vested in us, in quality of Regent, we also emitted our own manifesto, explaining and enlarging the promises formerly made, according as we came to be better acquainted with the inclinations of the People of Scotland. Now that it has pleased God so far to smile on our undertaking as to make us master of the antient kingdom of Scotland, we judged it proper, in this publick manner, to make manifest what ought to fill the hearts of all his Majesty's Subjects, of what nation or province soever, with comfort and satisfaction.

We therefore hereby, in his Majesty's name, declare, that his sole intention is, to reinstate all his Subjects in the full enjoyment of their religion, laws, and liberties; and that our present attempt is not undertaken in order to enslave a free people, but to redress and remove the incroachments made upon them; not to impose upon any a religion which they dislike, but to secure them all in the enjoyment of those which are respectively at present established among them, either in Scotland, England or Ireland: and if it shall be deemed proper that any further security be given to the established church or clergy, we hereby promise, in his name, that he shall pass any law that his Parliament shall judge necessary for that purpose.

In consequence of the rectitude of our Royal Father's intentions, we must farther declare his sentiments with regard to the national debt. That it has been contracted under an unlawful government, no body can disown,

no more than that it is now a most heavy load upon the nation; yet in regard that it is for the greatest part due to those very subjects whom he promises to protect, cherish and defend, he is resolved to take the advice of his parliament concerning it; in which he thinks he acts the part of a just Prince, who makes the good of his people the sole rule of his actions.

Furthermore, we here in his name declare, that the same rule laid down for the funds, shall be followed with respect to every law or act of parliament since the revolution, and in so far as, in a free and legal parliament, they shall be approved, he will confirm them. With respect to the pretended union of the two nations, the King cannot possibly ratify it; since he has had repeated remonstrances against it from each kingdom; and since it is incontestable, that the principal point then in view, was the exclusion of the Royal family from their undoubted right to the crown, for which purpose the grossest corruptions were openly used to bring it about. But whatever may be hereafter devised for the joint benefit of both nations, the King will most readily comply with the request of his parliaments to establish.

And now that we have in his Majesty's name given you the most ample security for your religion, properties, and laws, that the power of a British sovereign can grant; we hereby for ourselves, as heir apparent to the crown, ratify and confirm the same in our own name, before Almighty God, upon the faith of a Christian, and the honour of a Prince.

Let me now expostulate this weighty matter with you, my father's subjects; and let me not omit this first publick opportunity of awakening your understandings, and of dispelling that cloud, which the assiduous pens of ill-designing men have all along, but chiefly now, been endeavouring to cast on the truth. Do not the pulpits and congregations of the clergy, as well as your weekly papers, ring with the dreadful threats of Popery, slavery, tyranny, and arbitrary power, which are now ready to be imposed upon you by the formidable powers of France and Spain? Is not my Royal father represented as a  
blood.

blood-thirsty tyrant, breathing out nothing but destruction to all those who will not immediately embrace an odious religion? Or have I myself been better used? But listen only to the naked truth.

I, with my own money, hire a small vessel, ill provided with money, arms, or friends; I arrive in Scotland, attended by seven persons; I publish the King my father's declaration, and proclaim his title, with pardon in one hand, and in the other liberty of conscience, and the most solemn promises to grant whatever a free parliament shall propose for the happiness of a people. I have, I confess, the greatest reason to adore the goodness of Almighty God, who has in so remarkable a manner protected me and my small army through the many dangers to which we were at first exposed, and who has led me in the way to victory, and to the capital of this ancient kingdom, amidst the acclamations of the King my father's subjects. Why then is so much pains taken to spirit up the minds of the people against this my undertaking.

The reason is obvious: It is, lest the real sense of the nation's present sufferings should blot out the remembrance of past misfortunes, and of the outcries formerly raised against the Royal family. Whatever miscarriages might have given occasion to them, they have been more than atoned for since; and the nation has now an opportunity of being secured against the like for the future.

That our family has suffered exile during these fifty-seven years, every body knows. Has the nation during that period of time been the more happy and flourishing for it? Have you found reason to love and cherish your governors, as the fathers of the people of Great Britain and Ireland? Has a family upon whom a faction unlawfully bestowed the diadem of a rightful Prince, retained a due sense of so great a trust and favour? Have you found more humanity and condescension in those who were not born to a crown, than in my Royal forefathers? Have their ears been open to the cries of the people? Have they, or do they consider only the interest of these nations? Have you reaped any  
other



other benefit from them, than an immense load of debts? If I am answered in the affirmative. Why has their government been so often railed at in their publick assemblies? Why has the nation been so long crying out in vain for redress against the abuse of parliaments, upon account of their long duration, the multitude of placemen which occasions their venality, the introduction of penal laws, and, in general, against the miserable situation of the kingdom at home and abroad? All these, and many other inconveniencies must now be removed, unless the people of Great Britain be already so far corrupted, that they will not accept of freedom when offered to them; seeing the King, on his restoration, will refuse nothing that a free parliament can ask, for the security of the religion, laws and liberty of his people.

The fears of the nation from the powers of France and Spain, appear still more vain and groundless. My expedition was undertaken unsupported by either: but indeed when I see a foreign force brought by my enemies against me; and when I hear of Dutch, Danes, Hessians, and Swiss, the Elector of Hanover's allies, being called over to protect his government against the King's subjects; is it not high time for the King my father, to accept also of the assistance of those who are able, and who have engaged to support him? But will the world, or any one man of sense in it, infer from thence, that he inclines to be a tributary prince, rather than an independant monarch? Who has the better chance to be independent on foreign powers? He who with the aid of his own subjects can wrest the government out of the hands of an intruder? or he who cannot without assistance from abroad, support his government, tho' established by all the civil power, and secured by a strong military force, against the undisciplined part of those he has ruled over so many years? Let him if he pleases, try the experiment; let him send off his foreign hirelings, and put the whole upon the issue of a battle: I will trust to the King my father's subjects, who are or shall be engaged in mine and their country's cause. But, notwithstanding all the opposition he can make,

make, I still trust in the justice of my cause, the valour of my troops, and the assistance of the Almighty, to bring my enterprize to a glorious issue.

It is now time to conclude; and I shall do it with this reflexion. Civil wars are ever attended with rancour and ill-will, which party-rage never fails to produce in the minds of those, whom different interests, principles, or views, set in opposition to one another. I therefore earnestly require it of my friends, to give as little loose as possible to such passions. This will prove the most effectual means to prevent the same in the enemies of our Royal cause. And this my declaration will vindicate to all posterity the nobleness of my undertaking, and the generosity of my intentions.

Given at our palace of Holyroodhouse, the 10th day of October 1745.

C. P. R.

*By his Highness's command,*

JO. MURRAY.

V. *The commission of Regency by the Pretender to his eldest son.*

JAMES R.

**W**HEREAS we have a near prospect of being restored to the throne of our ancestors, by the good inclinations of our subjects towards us; and whereas, on account of the present situation of this country, it will be absolutely impossible for us to be in person at the first setting up of our Royal Standard, and even some time after: we therefore esteem it for our service, and the good of our kingdoms and dominions, to nominate and appoint, as we hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint, our dearest son, Charles Prince of Wales, to be sole Regent of our kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, and of all other our dominions, during our absence. It is our will and intention, that our said dearest son should enjoy and exercise all that power and authority, which, according to the antient constitution of our kingdoms, has been enjoyed and exercised by former Regents. Requiring all our faithful subjects to give all due

due submission and obedience to our Regent aforesaid, as immediately representing our Royal person, and acting by our authority. And we hereby revoke all commissions of regency granted to any person or persons whatsoever. And lastly, we hereby dispense with all formalities, and other omissions, that may be herein contained; declaring this our commission to be as firm and valid, to all intents and purposes, as if it had passed our great seals, and as if it were according to the usual style and forms. Given under our sign-manual and privy signet, at our court at Rome, the 23d day of December 1743, in the 43d year of our reign.

J. R.

E N D of the V O L U M E.

E R R A T A.

**P**AGE 2d line 14. for *retun* r. *return*, p. 5. last paragraph, 4. l. after the full point, add *That they*. p. 49. *bbing* r. *being*. p. 55. penult l. for *aganist*, r. *against*. p. 63. 3. l. from the foot dele *and*. p. 67. l. 10. for *aad* r. *and*. p. 74. l. 6, from the foot, dele *of*. p. 76. l. 12. for *containned* r. *contained*. p. 83. last l. for *anding* r. *landing*. p. 114. 4th l. from the foot, for *had* r. *have*. p. 120. l. 12. from the foot, for *interperfed* r. *interspersed*. p. 145. l. 1. for *ed* r. *spiked* *ib.* l. 15. from the foot, for *retern* r. *return*. p. 157. l. 3. for *the* r. *the*. *ib.* l. 12. for *annd* r. *and*. *ib.* l. 22. for *severa* r. *several*. p. 172. 5. l. from the foot, for *our* r. *four*. p. 150. l. 5. from the foot, for *March* r. *February*. p. 213. l. 11. for *Nnefs* r. *nefs*. *ib.* 2. l. from the foot, for *litter* r. *little*. p. 218 l. 20 for *nex* r. *next*. p. 222. l. 15. r. *shewn* by. p. 234. l. 11. from the foot, for *beloninging* r. *belonging*. p. 252. l. 4. dele *the*.

\*\*\* The Reader's excuse is desired for these, or any other mistakes that may be omitted.



